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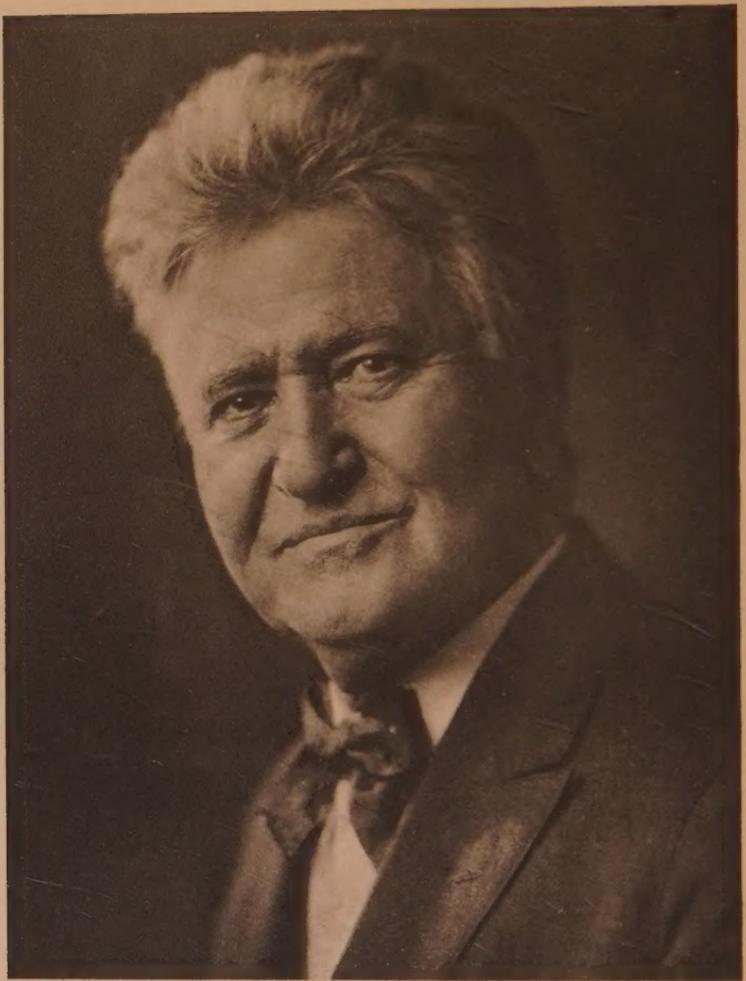
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# Robert M. La Follette



## Memorial Addresses

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE AND  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE UNITED STATES IN MEMORY OF  
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

LATE A SENATOR  
FROM WISCONSIN



## Sixty-Ninth Congress

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE  
JUNE 20, 1926

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE  
FEBRUARY 20, 1927



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**Proceedings  
in the  
United States Senate**



# Robert M. La Follette



## Proceedings in the United States Senate

MONDAY, December 7, 1925.

The first Monday of December being the day prescribed by the Constitution of the United States for the annual meeting of Congress, the first session of the Sixty-ninth Congress commenced this day.

The Senate assembled in its Chamber at the Capitol.

CHARLES G. DAWES, of Illinois, Vice President of the United States, called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock meridian.

The Chaplain, Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

*Our Father and our God, we come together this morning believing in Thee and praying for Thy grace in all the movements and in every duty which call this session into being. We look back and remember that some have dropped out of this convention of interest and high endeavor, and we pray for the families thus afflicted, beseeching Thee to be the widows' God and the Father of the fatherless. As we are taught to number our days and thus to apply our hearts unto wisdom, we humbly beseech of Thee that each one may assume his task and be the better qualified for every duty and the fulfillment of every obligation to the country and to Thee as supreme. Hear us, we ask of Thee, for each Member of this*

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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*body—for the Vice President who presides, for the President of the United States, and all related to him in Cabinet condition. Hear our prayer for our Nation, O God. Save us from the evils that are attendant upon other nations, and may we be exalted in righteousness. We humbly beseech Thee, in the name of Jesus our Lord. Amen.*

**Mr. LENROOT.** Mr. President, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk relating to the death of my late colleague, Senator LA FOLLETTE. At a later time I shall ask the Senate to set aside a day on which appropriate tributes may be paid to his memory.

**The VICE PRESIDENT.** The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 51) was read, considered by unanimous consent and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved,* That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

*Resolved,* That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

**Mr. WATSON.** Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 8, 1925, at 12 o'clock meridian.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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TUESDAY, December 8, 1925.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Haltigan, its reading clerk, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House unanimously adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

SATURDAY, June 12, 1926.

Mr. CURTIS (for Mr. Lenroot) submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 247), which was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to:

*Resolved*, That Sunday, June 20, 1926, 11 o'clock antemeridian, be set aside for memorial addresses on the life, character, and public services of the Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

SUNDAY, June 20, 1926.

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., offered the following prayer:

*Thou God and Father of us all, we approach Thy Throne of grace this morning recognizing the fact that Thou dost bound our habitation and ordain our tenure of life. At this time, with the fact of sorrow facing us and knowing that one has passed from the opportunities and the services in this body, we pray that Thy blessing may be upon those who mourn, so that it may be understood that God is the Father of the fatherless and the widow's husband in the deepest and richest sense.*

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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*We pray Thy blessing upon each one this day. Remember those who have been associated with the deceased in all privileges and responsibilities of this Senate in its duty.*

*We do ask our Father that to him upon whom now rests so much of that care, there may be given wisdom from above, enabling him to follow in the paths of rectitude and of high integrity in the performance of all the duties which may come to him.*

*Hear our prayer we beseech Thee. Lead us onward to a better understanding of Thy mind and will and so to live that when the last milestone is passed we may hear the "Well done" of the gracious Christ. We ask in His name. Amen.*

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, I send to the desk the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Clerk will read the resolutions.

The resolutions (S. Res. 254) were read and considered by unanimous consent, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

*Resolved*, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay tribute to his high character and distinguished public service.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and communicate a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Senator Lenroot**  
*Of Wisconsin*

Mr. PRESIDENT: We meet to-day to pay tribute to the memory of one who was one of the outstanding men of his day and generation, of one who had his devoted followers by thousands in every State of the Union.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was born at Primrose, Dane County, Wis., June 14, 1855, of Scotch-Huguenot stock. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1879, working his way through college, and was admitted to the bar in 1880. He joined the Republican Party, and early took an active interest in politics. The first elective office he held was district attorney, serving from 1880 to 1884. In the fall of 1884 he was elected to Congress, which office he held for three terms, from 1885 to 1891. He quickly won a place of prominence in the House, was a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and took a very prominent part in the framing of the McKinley tariff law. In 1890 he was defeated for reelection in the general Democratic landslide of that year, and this was the only time he was ever defeated in a general or primary election.

In 1900 he was elected Governor of Wisconsin and reelected in 1902 and 1904. On January 25, 1905, he was elected to the Senate by the Wisconsin Legislature to succeed the late Joseph V. Quarles,

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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but in order to complete certain important work in Wisconsin he did not take his seat until January, 1906. He served in this body continuously from that time until his death, which occurred in Washington on June 18, 1925.

Mr. President, these are the merest outlines of one of the most remarkable careers in our country's history.

For more than 10 years I was one of his closest personal and political friends. During all of his service as Governor of Wisconsin I was very closely associated with him, and also for some years after he became a Member of this body; but in recent years, because of differences of opinion our paths diverged, and we became political opponents. For that reason, I would speak of the years when I knew him best, and others will speak of his career and public service in this body.

I have never known a more industrious man, a man who so gave his every thought and activity to public matters. He was always hungry for facts and went to the bottom of every question with which he had to do. Keen and thorough, he was always prepared on every subject which he discussed. For many years the government of Wisconsin had been controlled by the railroad and allied interests. He fought them and took to the people of Wisconsin the question of whether they would control their own government. To help insure this he favored a primary election law, taxation of railroads upon an equality with private property, and regulation of railroads and other public utilities.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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Defeated in these reforms during his first term, he again went to the people, and during his second term as governor secured a primary election law and an ad valorem railroad taxation bill. He failed, however, in securing railroad regulation, and for the third time went to the people and during his third term as governor secured the enactment of a railroad commission law which was afterwards adopted in all its essentials by many other States. Before he took his seat in this body he had secured the enactment of all the important measures for which he had fought in three campaigns in Wisconsin.

To advocate these measures then was looked upon as radical, but is looked upon as conservative now. However much I have disagreed with him in later years, I have never hesitated to testify to the great good he wrought in Wisconsin during these pioneering years of which I have spoken.

As I have said, others more in accord with his later views than I will speak of his career in this body. I have only this to say, that no Senator has failed to recognize his great ability, his power in debate, his devotion to any cause which he espoused.

I would speak briefly of his family life. For many years I was an intimate family friend. I had opportunity to know him as husband and father, as did but few outside of his family circle. It was an ideal home, filled with love and affection. The entire family were keenly interested in the things that filled his life, and there was always the greatest harmony in their family life.

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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Mr. President, it is possible for every citizen to render some service to his country during his life. The example of an ideal American home is one of the most important. This Senator LA FOLLETTE had. It is possible for every man to live a life of integrity. This Senator LA FOLLETTE did. It does not need rare endowment to do these things, but it does require character, and sense of obligation, and these we all can possess if we will.

In addition to these, Senator LA FOLLETTE was endowed with an indomitable will, with indefatigable industry, great ability, and the power to persuade his fellowmen.

The public esteem in which he was held was evidenced by the mourning at his death. The tongue of the critic was stilled; the pen of his foe no longer wrote words of denunciation, but instead wrote words of tribute to his worth.

The funeral train which carried him from here to Madison was met by sympathizing crowds at every stop. The impressive funeral ceremonies at the capitol at Madison, the march to the cemetery, and the last rites at the grave will never be forgotten by the thousands who witnessed them.

His devoted followers and former foes alike keenly realized that a mighty oak had fallen, that a great man was dead—but his life had become a part of the history of America.

Mr. President, in this connection I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD as a part of these proceedings the funeral sermon delivered by Rev. Dr. A. E. Haydon, member of the faculty

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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of the school of divinity of the University of Chicago, at the ceremonies in the capitol, to which I have referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The funeral sermon is as follows:

FUNERAL SERMON

By REV. A. E. HAYDON

We are gathered to say farewell. Into this crowded moment come flocking memories that stir the heart and still the voice. So long his torch has beckoned to us from the horizon's rim; so long the courage of his faith has heartened us. America needs him yet. Round about him were twined the hopes of millions of the intellectuals, of the youth, of the workers. Our leader has fallen. We must say farewell. ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE we shall always remember.

We shall remember him as the embattled prophet of the new democracy, a democracy directed by intelligence and organized to guarantee an opportunity for full and beautiful life to every child of man. His voice was the voice of humanism in politics. The drift of the centuries has swept away the old forms, the tribal chieftain, the tyrant priest, the absolute king. The aristocracies of blood have passed. In this new age of industry and science mankind, the world over, is face to face with a new tyranny—the tyranny of economic power without the saving graces and the refining culture of the aristocracies of old. Confronted with this new civilization—soulless, material, ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE dedicated himself to the principle that government should be the guardian and servant of the life of all the people. He gave himself to the ideal that statecraft should be the intelligent instrument for social amelioration. He pointed to the new cooperating democracy of intelligence and heart. He was therefore above the battle of faction and party. He said,

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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"I favor equal and exact justice to each individual and to every entrant, yielding neither to clamor on the one hand nor being swerved from the straight course by an interest on the other." He battled for the saving of the values of life; he toiled at the solution of problems, the righting of wrongs, the removal of injustice; and his instrument was intelligence burning with a white light in analysis and accumulation of facts. He found himself constantly fighting on the side of the poor, of the weak, of the worker—battling for those in whose face the door of opportunity was being closed in this land once free. He was forced to challenge special privilege in every form and sphere. He became the champion of the weak against the arrogance of wealth and power. Fearless, incorruptible, his head above the murk and miasma of selfishness and greed, his feet firmly planted in the thickness of fact, he toiled to make government the servant of human values; and when that day dawns, as it will surely dawn, when social organization will center about the higher values of life, when property will be less than humanity, when wealth will be the commonweal, when the path of free opportunity will beckon to every eager youth, then men will remember that ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE carried the torch down that path and trod that way before them.

We shall remember him as one who in a cynical age loved and kept the faith in humble men and women. He was always ready to trust the people, if you could give them the facts. It is not an accident that he should have stressed investigation, that he should have made the discovery of facts central and fundamental, that statistics could upon his lips become eloquence; but it was his human heart which kept him close to the life problems of the folk. It was his love of them of that class to which most of us belong—the plain people—that made him the champion of opportunity for the folk. He loved because he understood; he knew the hardness and anguish of the toil of the nameless ones; it was love of them which held him and supported him; it was that which was the

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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guiding, controlling potency and motive power of his life. It was because he saw that love and friendship and homely loyalty, the devotion of friend to friend and worker to worker—that these human relationships were the greatest thing in all the world, greater than power, greater than kingship, greater than nobility. It was for them and his love for these homely things that he was so eager to throw open the doors to joyous life to all earth's lowly ones. And to-day—to-day, among those who are bowed with tear-dimmed eyes, the vast number is made up of workers, the seamen, the toilers, men upon whose faces are lines, men with hard hands, men marked by the scars of old wars; and the fact that he bound the love of these people around about him is perhaps the noblest tribute of all.

We shall remember him as a leader of dauntless courage. Always the prophet must suffer; always the people have been slow to appreciate and understand men who make of themselves the spear-point of a new era; always he who challenges special privileges and special privilege in high place must be ready to suffer. When the Christs died upon the barricades; when searchers after truth quietly, with smiling face, drank the hemlock in the prison cell; when prophetic souls, loving their fellows, hurled themselves recklessly to death in a cause, the flame of the human spirit burned most brilliantly. In his case it may be said, "The bravest are the tenderest; the loving are the daring."

Into his soul the iron was driven many times. In those terrible days of war madness, when the minds of men were befogged, when the fires of persecution were lit, it was then that he stood true—then that he lived an episode the most brilliant of all the epic of his life. It was then that he strode into his place among the greatest of America's sons. With quiet courage he stood forsaken, even as the lowly Galilean was forsaken in those old far-gone days; forsaken, though his heart reached out to lay hold of the masses of the common people whom he served; forsaken even by those for whom he was giving his life. Almost alone, he held his vision true. With calm heart,

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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with unshaken poise, with resolute will, he kept the faith; and, best of all, he kept his faith in us. That love which bound him to his people and to his neighbors still supported him; he trusted us yet. It is almost heartbreaking to think that we could ever have left him alone. But he won; he lived to see his friends—his people whom he was sure would understand when they knew—give him vindication at the last. The flame of his spirit has passed, but the memory of that magnificent courage, standing loyally in the face of loneliness and isolation, will remain as a challenge to youth in America down all the future years.

We shall remember him. He has built himself into the life of America; he has built himself eternally into the structure of the world. In those far, deep cosmic spaces where stars go wandering in loneliness, tip-toeing in the silence, this little earth—this tiny little planet—swings forgotten; and yet, here on this lowly plane the human spirit has dared to dream of the possibility of carving out a home, of building a civilization in which the beauty of the human spirit may find fulfillment. Among those who are the glory of our humanity we count these great souls—men who said "Yea" to life; men who lived the joy, the bitterness, the anguish, the pain of living, and could give themselves to the task of reorganizing the world to make it over into a place for human joy and beauty and the glory of life. He is gone. He was one of those great souls who has made the planet different and better; one of those great spirits who has turned the current in the direction of the ideal dreamed by all the prophets of the ages.

We must say farewell, but we shall always remember him. We may do more. We may give him earthly immortality in our lives. The old enemies against whom he fought still are in the field; the causes which he championed still call for battling, heroic hearts. The future democracy of which he dreamed, still is to win. To be true to his vision, as he was true; to stand loyal and steady in the ranks until we have won a full, free

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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opportunity for the satisfying life for every child of man—that will be to remember him truly. And here—here in his presence still, we may with bowed heads and quiet courage dedicate ourselves to that sublime and splendid task. We say farewell, but we shall always remember him. Let us rise and sing America.

(*America* sung by audience.)

Benediction: To be true to the vision of him, to stand in the full blaze of the open day, searching, finding, and ready to die in the path of the ideal—this we pray may be our opportunity, this may we give in loyalty to our memory of him. Amen.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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*Address by Senator Robinson  
Of Arkansas*

Mr. PRESIDENT: Where public opinion fashions political institutions there is a tendency to form three political parties: Conservatives, liberals, and radicals. In American political history we have known Federalist, Whig, Democrat, Republican, Know Nothing, Independent, Union Labor, Populist, Farmer-Labor, Prohibitionist political parties, and perhaps some others. But when the doctrines and purposes of these various organizations are analyzed they all fall into the group which supports the existing order, the conservatives, or that which proposes reforms, the liberals, or that organization which advocates the most extreme or progressive measures.

The distinction has not always been clear and entirely free from confusion. The tendency has been notable for the conservative and liberal parties to absorb the radical elements by the gradual modification of their policies and teachings so as to comprehend those reforms which the test of time and experience have justified. Students recognize the truth that fundamental political problems change less frequently with the passing of time than men are in the habit of thinking. New conditions often bring back into prominence under different names old factional, sectional, and class alignments in politics. It is for this reason that political parties, however often their names

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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may be changed, may always with more or less proprietary be designated as conservative, liberal, or radical.

SENATOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE A LEADER OF THE  
RADICALS

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was a leader of the radicals in political thought throughout the lifetime of a generation. His leadership was both local and national. In a marked degree the educational, industrial, and political institutions of Wisconsin were influenced, not to say dominated, by his personality and his opinions throughout 40 years. During the greater portion of this time he was the foremost advocate of revolutionary changes in the administration of the National Government—the real leader of the progressive element and movement in the United States.

There was never an hour after Senator LA FOLLETTE became a Member of this body that he felt satisfied with existing conditions. He always pressed forward in the pursuit of reforms both in the law and its execution. No other statesman of his time more fearlessly challenged opposition or evinced a more unyielding and uncompromising spirit. The outstanding characteristic of his labors was the relentlessness with which he waged war on monopoly and special privilege. He witnessed with disgust and resentment the formation of trusts in almost every sphere of industry. He anticipated peril to the liberties, happiness, and prosperity of the people because of the development of gigantic corporations, which during the

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last 50 years have sought to dominate the production and distribution of the necessities of life. His opposition to monopolies resulted from a sympathy for the masses and a desire to preserve and safeguard the rights of the public. It is doubtful whether his long public record reveals a single instance in which he forgot or overlooked the general welfare. His critics must do his memory the honor to admit that Senator LA FOLLETTE steadfastly sought his reward by constant and unfaltering service to the masses. One might reject his principles—all conservatives and many who regard themselves as liberals did reject them—but no one could question his sincerity or his consistency.

### SENATOR LA FOLLETTE AGAINST OUR ENGAGING IN THE WORLD WAR

Senator LA FOLLETTE did not sympathize with the action of the United States in entering the World War. He resisted the passage of the armed neutrality act. His addresses in criticism of President Wilson's policies aroused bitter resentment and denunciation. He was inflexible. Even public censure did not move him to a change of attitude. No other American, prominent in public life, who took a similar position survived politically. But Senator LA FOLLETTE outlived whatever unpopularity resulted from his opposition to our entry into the war and was perhaps more popular in Wisconsin when called by death than at any other period of his career. He faced social and political ostracism rather than profess opinions which he did not entertain. Thousands who could

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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not tolerate, much less approve, his open opposition to the Government's war policy, voted for him in 1924 for President of the United States. This was a tribute which the American people have rarely paid to a public man.

### THE LEGISLATOR

Senator LA FOLLETTE was a legislator of broad experience and rare ability. He was distinguished by a readiness to essay the difficult. This of itself was an evidence of his courage. His name is associated with many important laws, but it is chiefly for his repeated display of resourcefulness as a single-handed fighter in parliamentary contests that he is remembered by his former associates. However widely other Senators differed from him, they knew that when he announced decisive opposition to a measure the fight would be carried on to a finish; that he would never retreat, never surrender.

### SENATOR LA FOLLETTE AND THE PRESIDENCY

In every campaign for the last 25 years Senator LA FOLLETTE was prominently mentioned in connection with the Presidency. He could not receive the nomination of his party for the reason that he was not willing to compromise and would not temper his principles to please the regulars in the Republican Party. He wanted to be honored as a progressive—as an advocate of progressive measures and not as the mere representative of an organization which he could neither reform nor

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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control. There were occasions on which a willingness to compromise, to reconcile old differences and to go along with his party might have resulted in Mr. LA FOLLETTE's preferment for the highest office. But this he would not, could not do, and so he went on fighting, fighting, fighting until the end.

In 1924 he was nominated as a candidate for President by the radical party, composed of independents, many of whom had formerly been affiliated with the Republican or with the Democratic Party. His addresses in that campaign received international publicity because they dealt with the vital questions concerning the Nation in a manner that elicited the interest of all and aroused the appreciation of many. It was his earnestness, his consistency, his antagonism to selfish interests which brought to his standard millions of voters who had previously affiliated with the older organizations.

The Nation mourns his loss. Wisconsin is loyal to his memory. What better evidence of gratitude and appreciation could be afforded than the selection of his brilliant and able son, so like his father, to represent the State in this Chamber—the scene of the father's prolonged efforts. That State indeed is fortunate whose representatives serve without selfishness and without fear.

**Address by Senator Shipstead**  
*Of Minnesota*

Mr. PRESIDENT: The laws of nature are unchangeable and eternal because they are the laws of God. In the study of the various elements that compose matter the human mind has to some extent revealed their characteristics and appraised their value. That group of elements classified as metals are differentiated by the terms "noble" and "base." In the nobility of metals gold holds the highest rank because of its fusibility, because of its willingness to mix freely with other metals in the heat of the furnace. While it is true that the scarcity of platinum makes it more valuable in dollars and cents, and it is also true that it has a stronger resistance to the destructive forces of heat and erosion, it is not so useful in the society of metals because of its lack of ductility, malleability, and its inability to fuse with other metals so freely as gold.

These qualities gold possesses in the highest degree, and, therefore, takes the highest rank among the metals that are used in the arts and sciences by the human race. In other words, the democracy of gold establishes its nobility. Under the heat of the furnace gold fuses very readily with metals of a baser quality, the union raising the standard of the baser metals and giving to the alloy that rare quality of resistance to the forces of destruction, lifting the standard of the base metals to resist

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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these forces, and in return receiving as though in reward a quality that its does not itself possess in its pure state, namely, hardness. In giving itself to the uplifting of the baser metals it receives as much as it gives, proving that the law of compensation is a part of the law of nature; proving that "he who casts his bread upon the waters shall have it returned to him"; proving that "he who gives his life shall save it"; proving that democracy is of the essence of nobility.

It is another law of nature that gold can only manifest and express its democracy when it is in the pure state. It will only fuse with other metals when it is clean and uncontaminated. When not in the pure state it refuses to mix. It draws itself up in a round ball under the heat of the furnace; it becomes snobbish as though thinking itself too exclusive and too good to mix with other metals, and until it becomes clean its value is lost. It can only be restored to its inherent nobility by reinvesting itself with democracy. That can only be accomplished by its being heated in the acid retort to have the impurities contaminating it destroyed, thereby restoring to its its ability to fuse and so restoring its nobility.

The laws of nature are manifested in the lives of men as they are manifested throughout all nature. The rank that gold holds in the society of metals was held by ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE in the society of men. His democracy was of the essence of his nobility. He gave freely and generously of himself to the service of humanity, and in so doing raised the standard of public service. He was ever

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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on guard to prevent his soul from becoming contaminated with the impurities of conceit and selfishness, and by his life proved the truth that the laws of nature operate as truly upon the minds and souls of men as upon the elements that compose matter. Senator LA FOLLETTE was a living symbol of the truth that the noblest are the most democratic, and the bravest are the tenderest. He had a heart as brave as a lion's and as tender as a child's.

History will measure his greatness with the yardstick of the various historians. His strength of character will be measured by men whose sense of values are relative. For me the yardstick of Ibsen is sufficient. He said, "He is strongest who stands most alone." If that is a fair standard of measurement for strength, then Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was one of the strongest men of his time.

The Good Book says "Greater love hath no man than he who gives his life for another." Senator LA FOLLETTE gave his life in the service of all humanity. The nobility of his soul dictated that course. He gave unsparingly and unceasingly of himself to the betterment of the human race, and he was richly rewarded with the love of his fellow men. He was paid in a wage that does not cloy and leaves no sting. All those who really knew Senator LA FOLLETTE knew that his soul enjoyed that peace that passeth all understanding. He built for himself an enduring name, and went to his grave beloved of all who had the rare privilege of his acquaintance.

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The time will soon come when cold memorials in steel and stone will be built to his memory; but the everlasting and eternal monument that will immortalize ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE will be that memory of his service to humanity which is enshrined in the hearts and souls of men and women who loved him for what he was, who loved him because he dared to think and speak, who loved him because he did not sacrifice his integrity to achieve power. While it is true that he achieved fame, he achieved it because he did not compromise his convictions in order to do so. Above all else he was true to himself and, therefore, to his God and humanity. For his faithfulness to the law of eternal truth he received as though in reward the inspiration and courage that enabled him to carry on, inscribing his name in the hearts of men, where are written the only memorials that withstand the destructive forces of time.

Senator LA FOLLETTE'S voice was a voice in the wilderness. In our civic life he symbolized the cries of Isaiah, the Sermon on the Mount, the Magna Charta of King John, the Declaration of Independence, and the preamble to the Constitution of the United States. His voice is now stilled in death; but the voice of his spirit will continue on down the ages, challenging the forces of special privilege.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an enumeration of the laws supported by Senator LA FOLLETTE for the benefit

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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of labor. This enumeration has been compiled by Mr. Gilbert E. Hyatt.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

(By GILBERT E. HYATT)

The record of Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, from the day of his entry into the political arena in Wisconsin to this hour when he is the people's candidate for President, has been one of vigorous and unbroken service to the cause of labor. He is the author and advocate of more labor legislation than any living man.

### THREE DISTINCT CLASSES OWE THEIR EMANCIPATION DIRECTLY TO LA FOLLETTE

The first blows to strike the shackles off of three great groups of workers were struck by LA FOLLETTE. Railroad employees, Government workers, and seamen are all indebted to him for the initial legislation that has given them an opportunity to improve their condition.

#### THE RAILROAD 16-HOUR LAW

The railroad employees are indebted to the passage of the so-called hours of service law for relief from intolerable conditions in their industry. Prior to the passage of this act railroad employees were compelled to endure excessive hours of duty and irregular employment to a degree which rendered normal life impossible, broke their health, and produced appalling loss of life and property. A glimpse of the conditions which the legislation ended is found in the wording of the bill:

"SEC. 2. That it shall be unlawful \* \* \* to require or permit any employee to remain on duty for a longer period than 16 consecutive hours, and whenever such employee shall have been continuously on duty for 16 hours he shall be relieved and not required or permitted

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to again go on duty until he has had at least 10 hours off duty \* \* \*."

Records were produced showing men as having performed the exacting and exhausting duty of operating trains for periods of 60 or more hours. The railroad companies expended large sums of money in propaganda and in lobbying against this law, claiming that it would paralyze the industry. Its effect, on the contrary, has been to vastly increase the efficiency of operation and the safety of the public and the employees.

From the date of this enactment, March 4, 1907, dates a period of splendid progress for the railroad workers in organization, in the improvement of their conditions, and in that constructive and militant interest in public affairs which has been so notable a contribution to our political and industrial life.

### RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP RESTORED TO CIVIL-SERVICE EMPLOYEES

An Executive order of President Roosevelt forbade the civil-service employees to exercise the right of appeal to Congress. This right is fundamental, belonging by constitutional enactment to all citizens. Its denial practically enslaved the civil-service workers by shutting off their only source of relief. Senator LA FOLLETTE secured the passage of the legislation bearing his name, popularly known as the "antigag act," which restored the right of appeal, and also guaranteed them the right of organization, and protected them from summary dismissal. Upon this act the present effective organization and progress of this highly important and numerous class is based.

### SLAVERY OF MERCHANT SAILORS ENDED BY SEAMEN'S ACT

A third class, the formerly enslaved and brutally exploited sailors in the merchant marine of the world, owe their emancipation to the distinguished humanitariansm of Senator LA FOLLETTE.

The conditions of housing, food, excessive labor, and peril to life and limb of the sailor had been a scandal for centuries. Practically all the marine codes of law were

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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designed not for their protection but for their further enslavement. The International Seamen's Union, through their president, Andrew Furuseth, fought for 20 years for the passage of protective legislation.

Not until LA FOLLETTE espoused their cause was any real progress made.

After persistent efforts, extending over several sessions of Congress and in the face of the most bitter opposition from the shipping interests and big business in general, the La Follette Seamen's Act was passed, giving to the American sailors and to foreign sailors arriving in our ports protection for their wages and liberty of contract and establishing a livable standard of surroundings while at sea. Predictions were made that this act would drive the American flag from the sea, but the steady increase of our merchant marine tonnage has refuted this claim. Not only was Senator LA FOLLETTE the author of the original act, but he has energetically protected it against attempts to repeal or adversely amend it.

### LA FOLLETTE STAND FOR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ADVOCATED BY LABOR EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY

Senator LA FOLLETTE introduced in the Sixtieth Congress the employers' liability bill which bore his name. Through his efforts adverse amendments were defeated and the bill became law. His record since that time is in full accord with this action.

### CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION

Through all the vicissitudes of this humanitarian legislation Senator LA FOLLETTE has been its strong advocate and supporter. He supported the Federal child labor bill of 1916 and the revenue bill of 1918 to abolish child labor by taxing products of this labor in interstate commerce. He aided the action by Congress for the proposed amendment to the Constitution, which seeks the only avenue left by the decision of the Supreme Court for the protection of the children from industrial exploitation.

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### EXEMPTION OF LABOR UNIONS FROM PROVISIONS OF ANTITRUST LAWS

The record of LA FOLLETTE in relation to the struggles to exempt labor organizations from the provisions of the antitrust laws is in accord with his record in regard to all other protective legislation for the workers.

### EIGHT-HOUR LEGISLATION

Senator LA FOLLETTE was instrumental in the passage of the Adamson eight-hour law and in defeating several attempted pernicious amendments to the eight-hour law for railroad employees. One of these was for the purpose of forbidding strikes, thus creating an involuntary servitude for this class. His antigag law for civil-service employees paved the way directly to the passage of their eight-hour law.

### DIRECT ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS

Senator LA FOLLETTE led the great fight that resulted in this reform.

### STOP-WATCH AND SPEED-UP MEASURES

No more consistent opponent of the numerous attempts to speed up employees by the use of "time studies," stop watches, and speed tests can be found than LA FOLLETTE. His record shows aggressive effort in opposition to all such attempts, either by riders on appropriation bills or otherwise.

### AGAINST INJUNCTIONS

Senator LA FOLLETTE has consistently fought against this tyrannical perversion of the power of the judiciary. He has voted for every measure introduced to curb this abuse, and has been unsparing in his criticism of those judges who use the injunction as an instrument to crush labor.

### RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

This keenly desired and earnestly advocated protection for American labor has had the support of LA FOLLETTE. He has, however, demanded at all times that the legislation should be drafted and administered along humane lines.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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ESCH-CUMMINS TRANSPORTATION ACT AND HOWELL-BARKLEY  
BILL

That portion of the Senator's record dealing with the railroad industry and with the advancement of the interests of its employees is the best-known portion of his long career. During the period of Federal control and since he has been especially active and prominent in this fight. His opposition to the pernicious antistrike provisions of the Esch-Cummins law and to the law itself needs no comment. It was the La Follette group of Progressives in the House which laid the foundation for a consideration of the Howell-Barkley bill by liberalization of the rules. They also led the fight which placed this measure in a position for further consideration. The Howell-Barkley bill had been tied up in the Senate committee for weeks until Senator LA FOLLETTE, returning from his sick bed after a slight attack of pneumonia, made a strenuous demand for an immediate report, and forced it out of the committee that very day.

LA FOLLETTE's efforts for a proper valuation of railroads and for the reduction and regulation of freight rates are heartily supported and indorsed alike by the public and by the railroad employees. His success in securing the publication of vital information has been a conspicuous service to the railroad employees and the entire country.

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### Address by Senator Walsh *Of Montana*

Mr. PRESIDENT: The first quarter of the twentieth century witnessed a titanic contest between the forces of corrupt wealth on the one hand and the masses of the people on the other—the former struggling to maintain its grip on the Government and the latter to reassert their mastery of its machinery.

It is not to be understood that the strife is ended or that a decisive victory was achieved by either of the warring hosts. It proceeds with varying fortunes. Just now the favored few ride triumphantly, with scarcely less arrogance than in 1900.

Much comfort can be derived from a consideration of the conditions which then prevailed. Obscenousness toward the rich recipients of or seekers after Government favor have not been wanting at any time since the Civil War and prior to 1896, but the campaign of that year, characterized by a lavishness in expenditure never before known on the part of the victors, whose cause was peculiarly the cause of the creditor class, bore most unsavory fruit. It was emulated by men of great wealth seeking to get into the United States Senate, so many of whom succeeded that that body came to be known as “the millionaires’ club.” It gave rise to tolerance toward all manner of disregard of law on the part of the heavy contributors to the

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war chest of the successful party, who hoped thereby to recoup or further enrich themselves.

The Sherman antitrust law, enacted to protect the public against the rapacity of plundering combinations of capital, was openly flaunted, the conspirators being confident in the belief that they would, or if they were, through the influence they were able to exert, they could avert the penalty of the law.

A perfect orgy of trust-breeding ensued, encouraged by decisions of the courts later materially modified and by complacence on the part of the prosecuting officers. It was the era of the launching of the Steel Trust and the Northern Securities Co., both flagrantly offending against the law as it was afterwards adjudged.

The public domain offered tempting loot, and the spirit of the times held out the hope that safety could be assured against successful prosecution through political pull. It was the heyday of the injunction to "stand pat," a policy whose votaries were by no means confined to any one political party.

A casehardened contempt characterized the attitude of both Houses of Congress toward many of the reforms since wrung from a reluctant National Legislature. It was of this period that the publicist spoke who said that the United States narrowly escaped becoming a plutocracy.

To no single man can be assigned the credit for having smashed that baneful system; but surely among all those who aroused the public to its

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iniquities and led in the revolt against it, the primacy must be given to ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE.

It was a task that might have appalled any man less bold and balked any man less talented. He fought his way to complete victory, as you have been told, in his native State over a combination of corrupt business and corrupt politics.

Reentering the national field after an honorable career in the House and three terms as governor of his State, he threw down the gage of battle in this body to all the foes of democracy and against venality in every form, and continued the fight for nearly a generation, until his overtaxed frame gave way, and death devolved upon others the burden he had so long and so valiantly borne.

Into almost every hamlet in this broad land he carried his message of alarm at the decadence of our institutions and the peril of the passing of control of them into sordid and self-seeking hands. Assailing as he did those who sat in the seats of the mighty, he was the object of envenomed hate more intense, perhaps, than fell to the lot of any other man who ever figured in our history. Small wonder either, for his blows were never tempered and he was never dissuaded by personal considerations from unrestrained denunciation of censurable acts or measures. His famous roll call, in which he laid bare with pitiless precision the deficiencies and delinquencies of his colleagues in the Senate whose careers indicated that they were either subservient or venal, exercised a greater influence, perhaps, than any other one thing in

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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turning the tide that was carrying the Nation away from its ancient moorings, from the Republic as it was conceived by Jefferson and by Lincoln.

Were it not that his public as well as his private life was without stain, he never could have held as he did the confidence of the people of his State, which he represented in this body so long, or retained the affection of the lowly, whose rights and interests he never failed to champion. His heart was ever open to the cause of the toilers on sea and land, in the field and on the farm, in the mill, the workshop, and the countinghouse. He burned with indignation at any attempt at the exploitation of the poor. He had a consuming desire to make life worth more than living to them.

He has earned an enduring place in the history of the country, and has left an example of public service to be emulated but which it were vain to expect will be surpassed.

I count it a matter of pride that, serving for over 12 years in the United States Senate with him, renewing a slight acquaintance dating even from our youth, he gave to me in the later years of our association in some measure his confidence.

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*Address by Senator Frazier  
Of North Dakota*

Mr. PRESIDENT: The life of the man whose memory we honor was so unselfish and upright, and his record in public office so unsullied, that even his enemies were compelled to respect him.

I had long admired Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, and longed to become acquainted with him. When that opportunity came, I was most agreeably surprised to find not only the great statesman I had admired but a friendly, sympathetic, lovable character.

In 1917 it happened to be my privilege to be chairman of the producers and consumers' convention, and I had the honor of presenting Senator LA FOLLETTE to that immense crowd in the city auditorium of St. Paul. Few speakers ever receive the enthusiastic reception that was given the Senator upon that memorable occasion.

But, oh, the gross misrepresentation of that stirring, straightforward, historic speech. Never has the press more flagrantly misquoted or worked a greater injustice upon any public speaker. When, some months later, the statements of the press were retracted, only briefest mention was made of the fact in inconspicuous corners of most newspapers—quite in contrast with the blazing headlines denouncing as unpatriotic one of the truest, most loyal citizens this country has ever known.

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It may be recalled that as a result of this misrepresentation by the press of the St. Paul speech made by the Senator, a resolution was offered on the floor of the Senate to investigate the statements made in the speech, or that were supposed to have been made. A committee was appointed to hold a hearing. In fact, a hearing was demanded by the Senator from Wisconsin. The story is that it became known that Senator LA FOLLETTE was to call in the Hon. William Jennings Bryan at that hearing, and it is said that a member of the committee got in touch with Mr. Bryan to see what he was going to testify if he came to the hearing. It is related that Mr. Bryan told that member of the committee that if he were called by Senator LA FOLLETTE he would testify to the truth. The hearing was never held. But, oh, the attempt which was made to humble that mighty man, to break his fighting spirit.

Mr. President, it was my privilege to take part in the convention at Cleveland in July, 1924, and to have the knowledge that at that time there was placed before the American people a man who could be depended upon to fight their battles as he had sturdily upheld the traditions of the people of his State throughout the years he had been in public service. His message of acceptance of the nomination of that convention for the Presidency was presented by his son, the present Senator LA FOLLETTE, Jr., and was a most masterful statement of principles and purposes. As a result of that campaign Senator LA FOLLETTE was excluded from the Republican caucus of the Senate, and with him

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went the late Senator Ladd, Senator Brookhart, and myself. Whatever else may be said, I am exceedingly proud of the company I was in on that occasion. No slush funds ever entered into the elections of those men, and no public scandals ever resulted as a consequence of their part in the administration of public affairs.

Mr. President, Senator LA FOLLETTE was a true representative of the principles on which the Republican Party was founded, and especially as interpreted by the people of his home State. The trouble was that the leaders moved away from the original tenets, when the party became strong and powerful because of those high purposes, and Mr. LA FOLLETTE remained steadfast and loyal to those principles.

In the campaign for the Presidency in 1912, Senator LA FOLLETTE carried the State of North Dakota in the presidential primaries. There may be those who will ask, Why not in 1924? I am not unfamiliar with the tactics employed in political campaigns in recent years, nor insensible to the efficiency of well-organized propaganda when the vested interests are aroused and thoroughly frightened, as they were two years ago. The people of his home State who had the opportunity to know him best loved him most and stood by him on every occasion. It was not possible there to becloud the issues by the use of misleading political propaganda.

It has been said that the atmosphere of Washington is calculated to cool the zeal and dampen

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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the ardor of those exponents of a people's government who are sent here to represent their States and people. Keeping in close and constant touch with public problems, and holding himself aloof from all entanglements that might be detrimental, Senator LA FOLLETTE continued throughout his life an ardent, earnest champion of the people's liberties and constitutional rights. It was often said he could not be bought, or bluffed, or bribed.

Through the wise leadership of Senator LA FOLLETTE and many other tried and true coworkers in Wisconsin, his State has for years been recognized as a forerunner of progressive legislation and of honest administration beneficial to all the people. In the United States Senate he sponsored only such measures that he felt, after most careful investigation and study, would prove advantageous to the country as a whole.

To-day the United States is a better, brighter place in which to live because ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE lived and served here. What nobler aim could actuate the youth of our land than to devote their lives to the unselfish purposes that crowned with glory the name of the man whose memory we would honor to-day? With him it was always "the greatest good for the greatest number of people."

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*Address by Senator Fernald  
Of Maine*

Mr. PRESIDENT: Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was a rare character, an original thinker, a leader of men. He can not be approached over the hackneyed highway of eulogy, for words are as barren sounds, and but feebly express the honor due his noble name. I am grateful for this privilege of paying my humble and heartfelt tribute to his memory.

I shall not undertake to relate the history and achievements of this remarkable man. His interesting biography has been ably presented by another. I shall speak rather of those personal qualities and characteristics which made him an outstanding figure in American politics and won for him a permanent place in the hearts of his countrymen.

Senator LA FOLLETTE was endowed with all the instincts of greatness. In all of my acquaintance, covering a period of years of public life, I have never known a man of more diversified accomplishments. He was my seatmate in the Senate, and for several years it was my privilege to exchange daily greetings with him, and his was the kindly, generous spirit of a man who could disagree on the various political issues and yet offer a warm personal friendship. We did not agree in all the great questions of the day, but we were in accord on many great questions of American principles.

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was a patriot in the highest sense of the word; he loved his country and his people and unhesitatingly sacrificed personal popularity for what he felt to be the best interests of his State and Nation.

The great State of Wisconsin, that had honored him with the governorship and had retained him in public office so long, he conscientiously and devotedly served.

He was one of the founders of the Progressive Party, which has been such a colossal factor in the affairs of government for the past 20 years. The sincerity and tenacity with which he advocated and fought for those principles so dear to him made an enduring impression upon the people of this country. He and I were members of the two opposing wings of a great party. But he was a man who could grasp by the hand in warm and genuine affection one whose views differed from his own.

As a speaker he had few equals in the past decade. His style of eloquence was virile, powerful, poignant; his audiences were moved by the might of its potency and appeal. He was eagerly sought as a speaker on the Chautauqua circuit, and on those occasions, as always, he drew great throngs, who were inspired by his eloquence and charmed by his personality.

With him "politics" was not a matter of individual prestige. It meant to him the science of government, and he studiously applied himself to every governmental problem confronting the country and earnestly sought its solution. As a statesman he stood at the head of the party which he was

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privileged to lead for so many years. A man of indomitable courage, he never faltered in his duty, and he stood ready and eager to meet all opponents in the arena of debate, and as a debater he had no peer in the United States Senate.

His knowledge of history, and particularly of the American Government from its foundation, gave him an advantage not only in debate but gave him also a place in history rarely attained. A natural leader, he stood upon the mountain top and cast his eyes upon the whole country, gaining perspective, noting its needs; and from these heights he pointed the way, as it appeared to him, steadfastly, courageously, honestly.

In all the years we sat side by side in the Senate I do not recall that ever a word of criticism of my attitude was uttered by Senator LA FOLLETTE, although our viewpoints constantly differed. This wholesome tolerance strongly impressed me, and I have for him the tenderest of memories.

The affection always expressed for his son who now honors the position made vacant by his death is a touching example of paternal devotion. I wish I might say some word of comfort to his sorrowing family, whom he so dearly loved. But I know how futile is any attempt to assuage so deep a sorrow by any word of sympathy. Yet I believe the appreciation expressed for the beloved husband and father must be of some satisfaction to the bereaved ones.

Senator LA FOLLETTE was so vital, so alert, so much alive, we still feel his presence in this Chamber. His sensitive, artistic, compelling nature

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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seems extinguished not by death. A man well along in years by human reckoning, he gave the impression of ardent youth, and thus I always think of him.

Above my desk hangs a motto, a daily inspiration to me, which I associate with one of his rare and prized visits at my office. Senator LA FOLLETTE was acquainted with disappointment; misunderstanding of his motives was not unknown to him. But how valiantly he "played the game" only those who knew and loved him best can ever know. His voice was vibrant with feeling as he read the verse aloud:

"For when the one Great Scorer comes  
To write against your name,  
He writes not that you won or lost—  
But how you played the game."

That is not a mere platitude; it is an article of faith with you—

was his well-remembered comment.

I appear here to-day a mourner, for I loved ROBERT LA FOLLETTE. Yes; I admired him as a man, I honored him as a statesman, I loved him as a friend.

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### Address by Senator Johnson *Of California*

Mr. PRESIDENT: It is a solemn but not unpleasant task thus to meet and briefly to pay our tribute of respect, admiration, and affection to one who has gone before. Solemn it is because of the reminder of the mutability of human affairs and of the changing processes which make this an automatic body; but with the solemnity is the glow from expression of heart feeling for one whose career and character challenged the highest and best in American life.

It is not for me in detail to recount the deeds or laud the achievements of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. Others more intimate personally and closer to the scenes of his earlier triumphs can better do this. But to their absorbing recital and to their deserved eulogies I would add the mite of one who, thousands of miles removed, with ever-growing enthusiasm, watched the marvelous progress of a great State under his matchless leadership, and then later in this Chamber saw in its very personality the same indomitable courage, rare ability, and high statesmanship. But of all this, others will tell eloquently and well. I would speak but a moment of that in which he was kin with some of us, that which won him his place in our generation and which will work his name large in history.

Macaulay tells of how the brave and sincere though not blameless Rumbold, after the ill-fated

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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attempt of Monmouth, at the very scaffold cried that he never would and never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world ready booted and spurred to ride and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden. From then, aye even long before that time, until now each generation has claimed its martyr to the cause of the millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden. In our generation their cause had its valiant champion in him whose memory we revere to-day. Throughout his long career of usefulness he never for an instant, whatever price he had to pay, acknowledged the mastery of the few. In all his years of activity, in placid peace or tragic war, in honored place or threatened ignominy, he recognized no subject millions, but ever fought the good fight of the weak and heavily burdened.

He had the gift, so rare in public life, of daring to pry beneath the surface and look beyond the mere semblance. He understood—and this endeared him to the few who dared and whose spirits were alike—that there was something more to government than mere money and materiality. He knew that for government to serve people best, really to be the instrument of progress in its highest sense, it must have just as man has, an impalpable, intangible, indescribable element, softening and enlightening, even spiritualizing, its harsher and grosser side.

Man may be of commanding stature with features finely molded with every attribute of beauty; but without a soul the body is but sordid clay. And

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so with government. It may have every appearance of prosperity, may prate of its wealth, preen itself on its material progress, but woe to it if it have nothing more. Senator LA FOLLETTE knew government, like man, must have a soul.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE needs neither marble nor bronze. His name is indelibly written in the hearts of his countrymen.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Senator Simmons**  
*Of North Carolina*

MR. PRESIDENT: I knew the late Senator LA FOLLETTE probably earlier than any other Member of this body, with the possible exception of his colleague, Senator LENROOT, who was a boy of 16 years when Senator LA FOLLETTE was first elected a Member of the National House of Representatives. I was elected to the House from the second congressional district of North Carolina 40 years ago, in 1886, and when I took my seat one of those I met was ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, a Representative from the State of Wisconsin, at that time entering upon his second term. This was at a date when his son, the present junior Senator from Wisconsin, was not yet born. I served one term in the House, retiring in 1889. Senator LA FOLLETTE remained in the House for another term, retiring in 1891, at the end of six years' service in that body.

I was elected to the Senate in 1900, beginning my service here on March 4, 1901. Four years later—on March 4, 1905—I renewed my acquaintance with Mr. LA FOLLETTE on his taking his seat in the Senate. In the meantime he had served three terms as Governor of Wisconsin.

In our service together in the House and for 20 years in this body our personal relationship was that of genuine friendship. I believed thoroughly in his honesty of purpose and in the sincerity of his

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devotion to our common country and to the interests of the common people, and I think he did me the honor of giving me an equal measure of confidence.

Senator LA FOLLETTE was indeed an honest man and a true patriot according to his lights. He was more than that. He possessed ability of the first order, was quite without fear, and he lived the principles for which he so valiently contended throughout his career.

He was frequently at odds with his party and his party organization, and, indeed, he was not infrequently at odds with the dominant forces in both the major political parties. He cared nothing, however, about that and never seemed to consider the possible consequences to his own political fortunes of the independent course which according to the dictates of his own convictions he always pursued. He never hesitated to oppose his party when he thought his party was wrong.

I recall that, in 1911, when I was in charge in the Republican Senate of the tariff bills, covering certain schedules, passed by the Democratic House, Senator LA FOLLETTE did not hesitate to oppose his party's position and come to my aid. With his able cooperation—and that of a few other patriotic and independent Republican Senators—I was enabled to pass those Democratic schedule tariff bills in the Republican Senate.

They were vetoed, it will be remembered, by Mr. Taft, who was then President. At numerous other times since Mr. LA FOLLETTE came to the Senate, he

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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and I worked together in behalf of measures upon which our judgments agreed as being in the interests of the masses of the American people. I never had any doubt, when I was working in cooperation with him, that he would keep the faith; his word was good; and his purpose, he was willing that all might see.

Senator LA FOLLETTE filled a distinct place—an important place—in American public life of the past 40 years. Undoubtedly the common people of the United States lost one of their ablest and truest champions when he died. He did much for Wisconsin when he was governor of that State, making the State government cleaner and better, and much more truly a government for the people of the State. In his service in the Senate, he left his mark and made substantial contribution to the constructive and progressive legislation of his day.

Senator LA FOLLETTE could not be frightened or intimidated; he could not be purchased with political favors or social blandishments; and very rarely was he deceived. There is always need in the American Senate and in our National Government for a man such as he. Disagreeing with him, as I of course did, upon many of the policies he advocated during his public career, I nevertheless wish to pay him this tribute in these simple words, and to express my personal sorrow in the passing of this brave gentleman and devoted champion of popular rights.

Senator LA FOLLETTE was a manly man, truthful, honest, faithful, courageous, and patriotic. He was a man of convictions and action. He thought and

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he moved. He is gone, but his record remains. It is written in the history of his time, and in it nothing is left in doubt or uncertainty, nothing concealed, for he lived, thought, and voted in the open. In his death not only the Nation, his country—his own country—but the great causes that moved and stirred his heart and inspired his mind have sustained a distinct loss. For nearly half a century he was my friend, faithful and true, and I shall ever cherish his memory in my heart.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Senator Moses**  
*Of New Hampshire*

Mr. PRESIDENT: The years of our association here by no means cover the period of my relations with ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. My first contact with him occurred more than 25 years ago when he in Wisconsin and I in New Hampshire, in connection with a former Member of this body, who was closely friendly to both of us, were engaged in resisting what we deemed to be the undue influence of railroads in public affairs. Necessarily this contact was at long range and more or less casual; but it endured and afforded a basis for the personal friendship which began on the day of my entrance to the Senate and which continued increasingly until the day of Senator LA FOLLETTE's death.

In consequence I can say that I have rarely known a man who reacted more fully to friendship; nor did he ever permit his friendship to be diluted by reason of any differences which arose on questions of public policy. Such differences I had with him—often and acute—but I always recognized the sincerity of his convictions and the courage with which he maintained them and gave battle for them. His consistency was remarkable. While it is undoubtedly true that from time to time and under changing conditions as we all came to know them, his views were occasionally either modified or strengthened, there ran through his

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whole public career an unbroken chain of discussion and proposals which had the single end of attaining through legislation those things which his convictions had established in his own mind as desirable for the country and its citizenry.

He played a large part in the public life of the Nation for more than 30 years; and he played a useful part, too. He had the rare satisfaction of seeing finally adopted many proposals which at first were scorned; and the statute books are replete with provisions which he originated, and many of which bear his name.

The conclusions which he reached were by no means actuated by prejudice. Profound study and earnest conviction laid the basis for every proposal that he advocated; and, in the debates which took place here, this was the outstanding characteristic of his utterances. Whenever he took the floor one could be certain that reasoned argument would always be advanced. No Senator within my knowledge ever prepared himself more carefully for debate; and no Senator within my knowledge was ever more strongly fortified with chapter and verse of authority to support his declarations. He was often criticized for the length of his speeches here; but no one can read those speeches in the Record without recognizing that they carry close, well-knit, and symmetrically developed arguments in support of his point of view. In addition, the literary form of his speeches was noteworthy. I was particularly struck with this in the early days of my service here when Senator LA FOLLETTE in company with two colleagues conducted the somewhat

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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famous filibuster in the closing days of the Sixty-fifth Congress. The night was passed in what at the moment seemed to many to have been a mere storm of words. But when the Record appeared those who took the trouble to read it learned that Senator LA FOLLETTE, at any rate, had delivered two speeches of real argumentative value and of genuine literary worth.

It is difficult, Mr. President, to form just estimates of those with whom we have been closely associated. It is still more difficult for an individual to form a just estimate of himself. But from my knowledge of this man as I associated with him and from his own picture of himself which I some years ago found in his autobiography, I venture to declare, even at the risk of triteness, that he was a misunderstood man. Beginning with those years of responsibility which came to him as Governor of Wisconsin, and running through the years of his increased influence as represented in this body, his proposals, though advanced, were never subversive; and he always kept far away in reality from those measures which he was accused of befriending but which could be attributed to him only by strained deduction.

In him lay a deep and rich vein of sentiment; nor did it lie far from the surface. His impulses were kindly and generous; it was from them quite as much as from his reasoned judgments that he formulated the public course which he so undeviatingly pursued. In other words, the philosophy of his public and private relationships ran in parallel lines; and he was always actuated by his desire

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to be helpful both to the individual and to the mass.

The news of his death came as a shock to those of us who had seen him when we separated at the end of the Sixty-eighth Congress. The severe strain of the campaign which he had conducted in the previous year had left no external mark to indicate how it had sapped his strength. I saw him on the day that I left Washington, and his nature as I had come to know it was never more finely exhibited. We spoke of the days which lay ahead, neither of us dreaming that his were to be shortened. I carried with me from that last interview the thought of his regained powers and carried with me also, and as always, my picture of him—a man sincere, courageous, hopeful, and helpful, of great intellect and of great heart. Thus, when the news of his passing came to me, my instinctive cry was that of Froude, uttered upon the death of Carlyle: “A man is dead.”

**Address by Senator Dill**  
*Of Washington*

Mr. PRESIDENT: When I learned of the death of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE it seemed to me his death created a great void, a wide, deep, awful chasm in the public life of this country, which it would be impossible to fill. For a generation he had been one of the great moral and political guides for the masses of the American people. They might not always understand the details of the public questions that confronted them, they sometimes could not recognize the underlying principles involved, but they did know LA FOLLETTE. His fearless championship of the common people's cause again and again throughout his public life had made them confident that whichever side he took on a great public question was the side of social justice. For many years he had been so alert to protect the people's interests, so aggressive in the fight for the rights of the poor, so constant in his consecration to humanity's cause, that we simply could not understand why such a life should end so soon.

Whenever we attempt to learn the reason why life must stop we find ourselves face to face with the stony features of the Sphinx that gazes forever across the desert of death. History tells us that those ancient people who made sacrifices to disease and misfortune in order to ward them off

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never sacrificed to death. They knew no human act could turn aside its stroke. They knew it is the one lottery in which there are no blanks.

Death is the one despot in whose realm there is absolute democracy. To those who believe in immortality, whether death beckons in early life or later years, makes but little difference after all. It is but a part of the infinite and eternal plan. If life gives us opportunity to work and serve, then death gives us opportunity to rest, and those who seize upon the opportunity to work and serve can most readily welcome the opportunity to rest. In our time I know of no man who more fully earned the opportunity to rest than did Senator LA FOLLETTE.

No matter when death comes or how it comes, there is nothing to fear. We all emerge by birth from the unknown into the consciousness we call life, and we all shall pass by death from the consciousness we call life into the unknown again. What shall happen in the adventure into that realm of silence or of joy where the innumerable dwell is reserved to each of us in our own good time to know.

We do know that ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE did his work well. He set for himself the high purpose to serve mankind and charted his public life by that purpose. He could not be bribed by promise of personal success or by fear of personal failure. He never gave nor sent a flag of truce while in a fight. He carried always the torch of truth. Defeat only spurred him to further effort, and more

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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than any other public man I ever knew he loved to stand alone when he believed he was "alone with the people."

Like so many other great Americans, the effectiveness of his efforts was never interfered with nor was the glory of his struggle ever dimmed by holding the high office of President. He aspired to the Presidency, but that aspiration was prompted by his dominating desire to serve the cause for which he lived and died rather than by the mere love of place and power. The historian of the progress of liberty will be compelled to write his name high on the list.

He will live in the galaxy of America's great, not merely because he had a big brain, not merely because he was a great thinker and speaker, but because he was honest and incorruptible, and fought for what he thought was right, regardless of the consequences to himself. His political character stands out like a mighty mountain, firm as the earth beneath, and pure as the stars above.

The advanced position which he so often took in his contests for the rights of the masses of the people made it easier for other public men, more timid than he, but who wanted to serve the people's cause, to stand for what seemed moderate reforms. Thus, by his own radicalism he made possible much of the advancement of the cause of the millions against the privileges for the few; and while he can fight no more, the advancement thus made in the interest of humanity will be permanent.

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Now that he is gone, we miss him. We miss him in Wisconsin, where his policies in operation prove the wisdom of his statesmanship. We miss him in the Senate, where he stood like an immovable rock in the way of privileged legislation that so often swept over him. We miss his sturdy leadership in the Nation and the world.

Although he died here in Washington, he is buried in his old home in Madison. Other nations have long had a custom of collecting the bodies of their honored dead in great public mausoleums. England has its Westminster Abbey in London; Italy has St. Peter's in Rome; France has St. Denis and the Hotel des Invalides in Paris; Spain has the Escorial near Madrid; and Germany and Russia have long had the royal sanctuaries in Berlin and Moscow. But not so in America. Here we bury our most distinguished dead in the places they lived and loved the most.

Washington sleeps in his simple tomb at Mount Vernon; Lincoln rests at Springfield; Jefferson is at Monticello; Jackson is at peace at last on his old plantation, the Hermitage; McKinley is at Canton; Roosevelt, at Oyster Bay; Grant's Tomb overlooks the majestic Hudson; Webster sleeps beneath the wind-swept pines of New England; and the immortal Clay is with his beloved Kentucky.

This custom is truly American. It has its lesson for the youth of the land. These sepulchres and mausoleums located in the simple surroundings amidst which these heroic figures lived serve ever to recall that these great characters secured their

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opportunities to prove their greatness by first winning the confidence of the people among whom they lived, the people who knew them best and elected them to office.

We should continue this custom. In these days of materialism it illustrates that sentiment and memory still control the American people. It glorifies the doctrines of democracy established by the Revolutionary fathers and emphasizes to those who come after us the Divine truth that he who would be greater among us must be the servant of all.

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### Address by Senator Borah Of Idaho

MR. PRESIDENT: ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, to whom we pay tribute to-day, was one of the remarkable men of his time—a singular, striking, and marvelously gifted man. Language is inadequate to portray him. Those of us who were fortunate enough to know him through years of service can recall him in memory only. His boundless energy, his unremitting industry, his unresting spirit, the breadth and depth of his sympathies, the scope and power of his intellect may be recounted; but there was something more—that inimitable, indefinable personality, BOB LA FOLLETTE—which neither language nor the brush can quite reveal. It is difficult even now to recognize that he is no more. His son honors his seat in this Chamber, and his name has long since been stricken from the roll; but death and his restless soul seem incompatible.

His life was one long incessant battle for his convictions and for his ideals. Men have differed and will differ as to the soundness of his policies and the worth of his views, but no one who knew him could doubt his sincerity or challenge his purity of purpose. For those things which he believed to be right he stood unfalteringly. There was in him no compromise. It is sometimes said that life is not so sturdy and truth does not seem quite so sacred now as in the old heroic days; that success counts most, and that political martyrdom

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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for one's convictions in these days is not to be expected; but such can not be said of Senator LA FOLLETTE.

He would not dicker or barter in political views or upon political convictions. He would not trade upon one subject in the hope that he might advance another. He would not strike hands with wrong upon the theory that he might advance the right. He took his positions upon public questions after great research and profound reflection. You could not hasten him, neither could you long delay him; but a position once taken, he was seldom, if ever, ready to compromise or to barter. When others began to talk of change of program or defeat he would move out and off to himself and prepare for a more determined struggle. Few men ever possessed finer moral courage, and his iron will and high purpose were such as should accompany his quality of courage.

It may be that there should always be, in affairs of state and in public life, those who can reconcile and harmonize; but in the interest of truth and thoroughness, in the interest of purity in public life and of unpurchasable justice, the man of unswerving convictions is indispensable. How many silent and lonely hours this colleague of ours spent wrestling with great problems which others believed hopeless, we all know. He had the great capacity of straight thinking—a rare gift—and he followed with relentless purpose the admonitions and deductions of his splendid intellect.

I have read somewhere that the Emperor Nicholas, in the long ago, ordered his engineers to

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establish a railway route from St. Petersburg to Moscow. Later they produced a map tracing the line of the road. "What's that?" said Nicholas. "That's the best road," was the reply. "What do you make it crooked for?" "Why, we turn this way to touch this great city, and to the left to reach that immense mass of people, and to the right again to suit the business of that district." "Yes." The Emperor took a piece of paper, made a new dot for Moscow and another for St. Petersburg, took a ruler, made a straight line, and said: "Build me that road." This is illustrative of the intellectual integrity of Senator LA FOLLETTE. He would not turn aside to accommodate his proposition to this or that situation. He moved in direct line toward his ultimate purpose.

The most familiar and the most universally accepted criticism of Senator LA FOLLETTE was that he was a radical. "Radical" is the full anathema which vested wrong hurls at those who would right wrongs. "Radical" measures the highest intellectual effort of entrenched stupidity. No man in the whole history of the world ever sought to secure for the human family a greater measure of happiness or a higher standard of justice who was not in his day and generation denounced as a radical. Such denunciations may well be regarded as a certificate of character. If you will turn back only a few pages of history, say from 1850 to 1865, you will see this word strewn all through the literature of the day. It serves as a fine illustration of how and why this term is used. Sumner and Seward were radicals because they hated human

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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slavery. They were so termed in the general parlance of the day. The tenderest and the most devoted soul of the era, one whose life's mission was to preserve the Union free of its bondsmen, was charged with being a radical. What a noble group of radicals from time to time appear in the history of human progress? The term is more often an encomium than a condemnation.

I can not myself recall any measure of the many measures which Senator LA FOLLETTE advocated, except one, not easily reconciled to the fundamental principles of constitutional government. Measures which, when he first proposed them, aroused antagonism, came very generally in time to be accepted as sound. He lived to see proposal after proposal indorsed and approved. He was, as every one knows, a life-long student of our system of government. He believed unfalteringly in the whole theory and spirit of its founders. Yes; he was a radical! He hated injustice. He sympathized with the exploited and the oppressed. He was not afraid of being with the minority. No cause was ever sufficiently unpopular to frighten him from his convictions.

The demagogue seeks the popular trend, scents the drift of public opinion, and hastens to get in line. Senator LA FOLLETTE took his positions upon public questions because he believed those positions sound and righteous, and then devoted his great ability and spared himself not at all in making them popular.

I watched him upon one occasion when a storm of indignation broke upon him, when it seemed

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that his whole life's work was to be shattered, and that the popular support which he had often had was leaving him for all time; and he stood as dauntless and unmoved as if he had been receiving the plaudits of the Nation. Let no libeler charge he was inimical to the country he loved or antagonistic to the Constitution in whose principles he profoundly believed.

It seems to me that the dominant tenet of his political creed was his faith in the average common sense of the masses. He never doubted the instinctive love of right in the popular heart. It might err to-day, but it would correct that error upon information to-morrow. He fought most valiantly, therefore, for those rights and privileges which insure the freest and fullest discussion of all public questions. He believed that it is in the open arena of inquiry and discussion that men and women grow to the full stature of citizenship in a representative republic; that it is in the open field of submission and debate that men and women are trained to the arduous duties and exacting obligations of modern life. He seemed to say, "Make speech free, and it will keep the people free. Give the citizen the right to think, to speak, to write, to argue, and these things will make him self-reliant and strong and bind him to the Government which believes in his intelligence and confides in his character."

No man in the whole history of our Government ever fought more persistently and more intelligently for these great principles. He lived his

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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creed, he suffered for his creed, and he justified his creed.

I realize that this is but a glimpse of the crowded career of Senator LA FOLLETTE; but in the midst of the pressing hours of a closing session it has been impossible to find time even to approach a full expression of our admiration. Some one less pre-occupied than we will find the time and count it a pleasure to record in full measure the great service he rendered his State and his country and the worth and beauty of his life among his immediate friends and with his family.

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**Address by Senator Wheeler**  
*Of Montana*

Mr. PRESIDENT: We have assembled here to-day to do homage to ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, who for 30 long years has led the fight of the common man in the United States for political and industrial freedom. We are here not to mourn a leader gone, but to rejoice in the knowledge of a glorious life, to renew our faith in the ultimate triumph of life, and to gird ourselves for the irrepressible conflict before us.

It is not my purpose and I shall not attempt to pronounce an extended encomium of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. Whatever I might say would add nothing to your appreciation of his worth or to your knowledge of his services to our common country. To review his life would be to recount the progress of civic righteousness for more than a generation. To the forward-looking men and women of this Nation he was a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. But he is gone. He has passed from the forum of political and industrial strife, from the tumult and the shouting, to the silence and calm of a long rest. His work is done, and when the moving finger of history has written the story of that work, it will say that it was nobly done. There is the record written, not only in the statutes of a great nation, but also engraved on the hearts of every liberty-loving man and woman in the civilized world.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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LA FOLLETTE, the ever-ready champion of the poor and the weak wherever found, has passed from the narrow circle of the present to live with the immortals. His life was round and complete. He passed on at the zenith of his power, feared by the criminally weak, respected by the strong, and loved by the toiling millions.

In the voiceless presence of the grave, the tongue of calumny is silent, and from the great heart of the Nation, from the lips of friend and foe alike, comes an unbroken symphony of appreciation and praise. The record of his achievements is a greater monument than can ever be erected to his memory by the hands of man.

For years the people knew him as "Battling Bob." The day will come when LA FOLLETTE will be known as a great constructive statesman, rather than merely the fighting defender of the people's interests. Since the founding of the American Republic few men have left so great an impression on the laws of the country as he left, few men have effected important reforms so quickly and completely. His long, careful research, the painstaking preparation, and unceasing study that have gone to make his record of constructive work so brilliant and so sound, are well known to those who served with him in the Halls of Congress.

Time does not permit a complete review of his many legislative achievements. He proposed many legislative reforms to conventions of his party only to have them rejected amid jeers and hisses. Of the 13 planks submitted by him in 1908 to the

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Republican Convention, 11 have since been enacted into law. Of the 18 propositions submitted in 1912, 15 have been written into the Federal statutes. The following are but a few of the reforms proposed by him to various conventions which later became the law of the land:

The enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission so that the commission could institute proceedings upon its own motion.

The establishment of the principle of suspending proposed increases in rates when they were challenged by shipper or consumer.

To provide for the physical valuation of the railroad property of the country.

The creation of a tariff commission.

The election of Senators by direct vote of the people.

The publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures.

The regulation of telephone and telegraph rates.

The prohibition of the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes when such injunctions would not apply when no labor dispute existed.

The creation of a Department of Labor.

The seamen's act.

The extension of the existing eight-hour law to all Government employees.

A Federal employees' liability act.

The building of a railroad in Alaska.

The extension of the Postal Service to include a parcel post.

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The adoption of the income tax law.

The extension of suffrage to women.

The Federal inheritance tax.

These, I repeat, are only a few of the constructive measures which he advocated, worked for, and lived to see enacted into law.

His work for the betterment of toilers on sea and land and his unswerving fidelity to the primal efforts of democracy will be remembered among men when the shafts of granite and marble have ceased to be. LA FOLLETTE in his grave to-day is more powerful than LA FOLLETTE living yesterday. This is the heritage of the great—their power grows with the passing of the ages.

There is no human standard by which to measure the great and the near great. The public estimate of men varies with the personal bias of the individuals who mold public opinion and determine, to a great extent, the verdict of history.

If I were to assume the robes of a prophet, and name the place which unprejudiced history would accord LA FOLLETTE, I would say that he will stand with Jefferson and Lincoln. In my opinion, the three greatest characters our Nation has produced are Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. It matters not to what political party they adhered—these three great democrats belonged to the Nation. Totally different in attainments and environment, these three men stand out distinct as our three greatest Americans—great souled, far sighted, and with the courage of their vision. Single of purpose, they strove directly

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to a common goal—the liberation of the soul and body of man from bondage. They were fearless champions of freedom. Jefferson laid the foundation broad and deep in the Declaration of Independence and in the first 10 amendments to the Constitution; Lincoln applied the declaration of human rights to all men regardless of race or color; LA FOLLETTE strove to emancipate the toilers from industrial slavery.

Death came and found LA FOLLETTE at his post in the battle front, where so often, single handed, he had held the line and kept the exultant foe at bay. Being always in the van of the assaulting columns of progress, he received the concentrated fire of the intrenched hosts of static privilege. No other public man since Abraham Lincoln has withstood such storms of vituperation and maintained the respect and affection of the masses. While always and continuously a tribune of the people, and while receiving the devoted support of his constituents, LA FOLLETTE worked alone. He had an unbounded confidence in his vision and relied on the common sense of the people and the rectitude of his own intentions for victory. He was seldom disappointed. Fair-weather friends and trusted lieutenants might fail him and go over to the enemy, but his faith in the masses never faltered. Wolves hunt in packs; the lion hunts alone. Isolation is often the fate of great leaders, of all great thinkers and doers of deeds. They must needs work alone. To them divergent counsel beclouds their vision of the future.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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Count me o'er life's chosen heroes,  
They were souls that stood alone  
While the man they agonized for  
    Hurled the contumelious stone;  
Stood serene and down the future  
    Saw the golden beam incline  
To the side of perfect justice  
    Mastered by their faith sublime—  
By one man's plain truth of manhood  
    And to God's supreme design.

It was this unswerving faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and right and justice that placed LA FOLLETTE in the front ranks of the great. The poisoned darts of malice and the contumely glanced harmless from his helmet of truth or were shattered against his shining armor of integrity.

It mattered not how strait the gate,  
How charged with punishment the scroll,  
He was the master of his fate,  
    He was the captain of his soul.

Senator LA FOLLETTE'S path was not an easy one. It was not strewn with roses. Weaker souls would have given up the fight in despair. Not so with him. As he passed from this life he expressed the wish that his friends might "Carry on."

I went with the funeral train as it bore him to his last resting place in Wisconsin. I saw big men, strong men, with tears in their eyes at every station mourning their departed leader. I saw men and women—the rich and the poor, the high and the low—come for hundreds of miles to view his remains at the capitol in Madison, Wis. Thousands stood in line for hours, and as they passed

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the bier parents lifted their children from the ground in order that they might view the face of this noble man who had fought so gallantly throughout his life in order that this might become a better place in which to live.

Difficult though the fight for righteousness may be, who is there that would say that the reward that came to him is not worth the effort. All who witnessed that scene; all who knew LA FOLLETTE and realized the happiness that came to him as it comes to all who serve others could not help but come away better men and better women, determined from thenceforth to devote their talents and their energy to the cause of the poor and oppressed, to the cause of humanity.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Senator Reed**  
*Of Missouri*

Mr. PRESIDENT: The beautiful testimonials of this morning leave but little to be said. The life of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE is closed, and we who for many years sat with him in this forum, in the calmness of the present, now turn to survey his eventful past. For an hour the turmoil of life is stilled and the country reverently surveys the career of this man whose eloquent tongue is now silent and whose story must be told by others.

It is, sir, not necessary that a man shall be esteemed as always right, for who shall judge? Who can claim the right to be the final arbiter of what is right? Our intellectual scales are so poorly balanced that we can not always weigh the truth of a philosophy. And so that creed which seems to us reason's perfection may to others appear as false and vicious. In the crucible of thought the gold of truth can not always be separated from the dross of error. There is, however, one element of character without which society can not exist and states can not endure. That is the quality of sincerity.

I have listened with rapt interest to the eulogies which have just been pronounced by men of widely different views. Through all of them there was a dominant note, the sincerity of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, a sincerity which refused to abide chains, to endure shackles, to yield to influence, a sincerity that scorned to sacrifice principle that favor might

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be gained. Having so heard I turn in wonderment to inquire why those who thus admire these virtues of the dead and praise the dead because he did possess them, do not themselves, here in this forum, and outside in general, follow the illustrious example.

I say it not in criticism, but I now inquire if in this legislative hall each man should practice the philosophy we now so adulate, each man standing as stood LA FOLLETTE refusing to wear the livery of any servitude, courageously battling for that which he believes to be the very right, whether these 96 men possessing different talent and speaking the knowledge gained from widely varied experiences could not in common counsel evolve policies which would be for the country's weal. I can not help but wonder how different would be the course of our proceedings, how different the fate of the Republic.

I can do no greater honor to the memory of the dauntless man who never lowered his arm or turned his back upon a foe than to ask his survivors in this body to emulate his courage and sincerity. You need not, sirs, accept his opinions upon the tariff, for they may have been at fault. You need not accept his views upon taxation, for they may have been in error. You need not accept his philosophy of labor, for it may have been fallacious. But there was one rule he followed which was not a mistake. In the performance of official duty he did not think of himself. He did not consider his own political preferment. He thought only of the people he represented and of the justice

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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of a cause. He followed the star of principle regardless of his own fate.

For nearly 16 years I have served in this body. I have seen many a beloved son of America pass from the scene; and I have heard the praises of their friends, but here to-day is a character of eulogy, a kind of tribute which, as unique as it is splendid, the central thought of which is not that ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE succeeded in politics, not that he held office, not that he had honor's wreaths placed upon his brow, but that he disregarded himself, that he thought only of his country, and that he was willing to lay his life and faith and honor upon its altar. If these virtues are so worthy of eulogium, let us hereafter emulate them in this Chamber and exemplify them in our lives.

Mr. President, there is a single trait of Senator LA FOLLETTE to which I desire to refer. The picture which has hitherto been held before the public is that of a warrior, fighting, fighting, fighting, because, indeed, he loved the carnage and the strife; of one who loved to break bones and to employ a superb and unusual power to crush and destroy antagonists. The character thus portrayed has at times assumed cruel and even sinister attributes. And yet, sirs, I give it, as my opinion, the most sympathetic man who ever sat in this Chamber was ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

His heart thrilled at every cry of pain; his eyes filled with tears of sympathy at every story of oppression or of wrong. A wickedness, a cruelty, particularly if visited upon masses of men, struck his soul with horror, made him vibrant with a

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passion to defend the weak and to undo the wrong. So, when he came here and struck these lusty blows, it was not that he hated, it was not that his heart was aflame with a desire to injure; but it was because of his limitless sympathy, his passion to alleviate suffering. The battles of his life were waged not to punish even the wrongdoer but to break shackles, to lift burdens, to dissolve chains, to tear down dungeon walls, to let in the golden sunlight, and give the sweet breezes of heaven to all the children of men. Accordingly he refused to compromise with evil.

There is one subject to which I shall refer, although to some it may seem a discordant note. I remember when in this Hall, and from this seat, surrounded by a little group of six Senators, he stood in opposition to the declaration of war. It was, in my opinion, the most superb act of courage this century has witnessed. Again it is not necessary his judgment or that of his associates should have been right; the act affords the index to his character.

We had been told for months and years—and wisely and properly were we so advised—that we should maintain neutrality. We had been told that neutrality should be of heart as well as tongue. Conditions changed; but, in the opinion of Senator LA FOLLETTE, the change had not been sufficiently radical to justify resort to arms. Public opinion had changed overnight; the spirit of Mars was marching across the land; the flames of passion were consuming the souls of the people; the universal voice was for war. In that situation the

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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man who dared to stand and face an excited and enraged nation had to possess a soul that was more than heroic. The man who could fold his arms and look into the faces of the jeering multitude, who could endure while the serpents of slander hissed about his feet, who could with unfaltering tongue still speak his thoughts, had to be a man of rarest metal and of dauntless soul.

Time will run its course; from the mountain peaks of the future the philosopher and the savant of other days will survey our recent past, and in the calm light of experience the verdict will be rendered. The world will then know whether ROBERT LA FOLLETTE was wise that day when he stood like a rock, defying the popular storm, or whether he was mistaken; but there can then be but one verdict as to his motives, as there is but one verdict here to-day as to the impulses of his life, and that verdict will be that he was the bravest of the brave, the most sincere of the sincere.

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Address by Senator Norris  
*Of Nebraska*

Mr. PRESIDENT: We are assembled to pay tribute to the memory of a great statesman, an able and fearless leader, a loving and confiding friend. In this moment of living memory the stricken heart almost stills the voice. We have so long followed the flaming torch of righteousness and civilization, held aloft by the strong arm of our illustrious leader, that it seems almost impossible that a just God should compel the progress of civilization to pause in its onward march, while around the open grave of our fallen hero we hesitate and pause with a disconsolate feeling that almost discourages the strongest of hearts and thus holds in temporary check the advancing columns that have so long and so willingly followed his lead.

His was the voice of justice and humanity, calling God's common people to battle for righteousness. He blazed the trees through the wilderness of suspicion, and doubt, leading the way to a higher civilization, a nobler life, and a happier day. His life from the cradle to the grave was one continuous struggle in behalf of the downtrodden and oppressed. He met upon the field of governmental combat the advocates of monopoly, of greed, and never once during his long and eventful life did he compromise with sin or surrender to wrong. To those who loved him and followed him and believed in him there will always be the happy

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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knowledge and consolation that even his worst enemies never once accused him of infidelity to the cause of righteousness as he saw it. Never once for the sake of personal advancement did he deviate from his chosen path in the cause of human freedom. Defeat to him meant only new determination for the next struggle. He turned a deaf ear to those who even suggested the possibility of compromise for his personal temporary advancement, and in answer to suggestions from the enemy that a different course might bring him power and popularity we can hear him now, with all the strength of his great power and all the vitality of his courageous soul, cry out aloud his denial.

What would you have me do?  
Seek for the patronage of some great man,  
And like a creeping vine on a tall tree  
Crawl upward, where I can not stand alone?  
\* \* \* Dedicate, as others do,  
Poems to pawnbrokers? Be a buffoon  
In the vile hope of teasing out a smile  
On some cold face? \* \* \* Eat a toad  
For breakfast every morning? Make my knees  
Callous, and cultivate a supple spine—  
Wear out my belly groveling in the dust?  
\* \* \* Scratch the back of any swine  
That roots up gold for me? Tickle the horns  
Of Mammon with my left hand, while my right  
Too proud to know his partner's business,  
Takes in the fee? \* \* \* Use the fire  
God gave me to burn incense all day long  
Under the nose of wood and stone? \* \* \*  
Shall I go leaping into ladies' laps  
And licking fingers?—or—to change the form—  
Navigating with madrigals for oars,  
My sails full of the sighs of dowagers?  
\* \* \* Publish verses at my own

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Expense? \* \* \* Be the patron saint  
Of a small group of literary souls  
Who dine together every Tuesday?  
\* \* \* Shall I labor night and day  
To build a reputation on one song,  
And never write another? Shall I find  
True genius only among geniuses,  
Palpitate over little paragraphs,  
And struggle to insinuate my name  
Into the columns of the Mercury?  
\* \* \* Calculate, scheme, be afraid,  
Love more to make a visit than a poem,  
Seek introductions, favors, influences?—  
\* \* \* No; I thank you! And again  
I thank you! But—  
    To sing, to laugh, to dream,  
To walk in my own way and be alone,  
Free, with an eye to see things as they are,  
A voice that means manhood—to cock my hat  
Where I choose—at a word, a Yes, a No,  
To fight—to write. To travel any road  
Under the sun, under the stars, nor doubt  
If fame or fortune lie beyond the bourne—  
Never to make a line I have not heard  
In my own heart; yet, with all modesty  
To say: “My soul, be satisfied with flowers,  
With fruit, with weeds even; but gather them  
In the one garden you may call your own.”  
So, when I win some triumph, by some chance,  
Render no share to Cæsar—in a word,  
I am too proud to be a parasite,  
And if my nature wants the germ that grows  
Towering to heaven like the mountain pine,  
Or like the oak, sheltering multitudes—  
I stand, not high it may be—but alone!

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Watching you other people making friends  
Everywhere—as a dog makes friends! I mark  
The manner of these canine courtesies  
And think: “My friends are of a cleaner breed.”

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His whole life's story could well be told in the few sentences that dropped from his own lips when he lay upon his bed of sickness facing the inevitable end which he knew was near:

I am at peace with all the world, but there is a lot of work I still could do. I don't know how the people will feel toward me, but I shall take to the grave my love for them, which has sustained me through life.

These brief words constitute the key to the great man's heart and soul.

In the many bitter struggles of his life he fought against the combined forces of greed, of monopoly, and of special interests with a ferocity and a determination that gained for him among many classes of people the reputation that he was cold and indifferent to many of the more tender attributes of humanity and that he lacked the sympathy and the fellowship of the lover. But this was only one side of the great man's character. He did fight with a fearlessness and a courage unsurpassed. The ferocity of his forensic onslaughts was only emblematical of one side of his wonderful character. His heart was as tender as that of any child. He loved with an intensity that was only equaled by the ferocity of his fighting ability. His heart beat in harmony with the aspirations and the hopes of all struggling mortals. The welfare of the little child at the humblest fireside excited in his great heart the desire to relieve the handicap of poverty and to crown the aspirations of the unfortunate with happiness and success. He was a hard fighter because he was a great lover. He fought all forms of wrong because he loved all

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forms of righteousness; and because he loved in the extreme, he fought in the unrelentless bitterness of determination.

The tender, loving heart added to his courage, his determination in every struggle that he made for better government, and he inquired not the prospect of victory. He had no sympathy for the man who was looking for the most popular side of disputed questions of government. His incentive to fight was fundamental, and it was fundamental because of his love of humanity. Of him it could be truly said:

The test of a man is the fight he makes,  
The grit that he daily shows;  
The way that he stands on his feet and takes  
Fate's numerous bumps and blows.  
The coward can smile when there's naught to fear,  
And nothing his progress bars;  
But it takes a man to stand up and cheer,  
While some other fellow stars.

It isn't the victory, after all,  
But the fight that a human makes;  
The man who, driven against the wall,  
Still stands erect and takes  
The blows of fate with his head held high,  
Bleeding and bruised and pale,  
Is the man who'll win in the by and by,  
For he isn't afraid to fail.

It's the bumps we take and the jolts we get  
And the shock that our courage stands,  
The hours of sorrow and vain regret,  
And the prize that escapes our hands,  
That test our mettle and prove our worth;  
It isn't the blows we deal,  
But the blows we take on this good old earth  
Which prove that life is real.

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In many of the greatest fights of his life he knew in advance that he would fail. Success was, of course, welcome, but he knew that human progress was slow; that civilization's march onward and uphill was always impeded by the entrenched power of wealth and partisan political combination. He knew that those who bore the advancing torches of light and wisdom would be impeded in their progress and often defeated in their efforts by the powers of entrenched greed, sustained and cemented by those who were opposed to progressive change. The man who fights the battle even for righteousness, and who has a majority of the people with him, riding in cushioned seats on the bandwagon, is living a life of comparative ease and comfort, even though it be on the side of right; but the man who must lead the fight against the relics of ancient and barbaric forms, knowing that his struggle will not succeed and that at best he can only mark the pathway a short distance in advance, and that the ultimate victory will come to those who profit by his sacrifice and his death, is the man to whom civilization is indebted for every step of human progress. It is only now, after the death of humanity's illustrious leader, that people of all classes have begun to realize that throughout his life he struggled for humanity and not for personal victory.

His life and his work have placed him with the immortal statesman who boldly proclaimed the true object of all those who struggled for the redress of human wrongs, for the upbuilding and advancement of progressive government:

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I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand with anybody who stands right, stand with him while he is right, and part from him when he goes wrong.

He never lost faith in the ultimate judgment of the people. He endeavored to investigate all questions of doubt with the view of ascertaining the exact truth, and he always believed that when the people were once informed and understood the truth their judgment would be just. He was often denied fair treatment by an unfriendly press, but somehow, in some way, the real truth in time always percolated through the mists of doubt and uncertainty; and the great common people, the millions of those well-meaning folk who constitute the backbone of our civilization, understood; and when they understood, they knew that he was the leader of their aspirations, their beliefs, and their hopes. They trusted him, they followed him, they loved him, because of his fidelity to those principles of government which they believed were just and would give to them and their posterity the liberty and the happiness that should come to every free people.

I saw the throngs that came from all parts of the Nation to pay homage to his memory. I saw the thousands that marched by the bier with bowed heads and sorrowful hearts. It was a throng that under any ordinary circumstances would have required the work of hundreds of policemen to keep them in line and to preserve orderly procession; but no policemen were in sight. No official was

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necessary to keep this multitude of people in place. They stood out in the hot sun, slowly approaching in narrow column the coffin that contained the remains of their trusted leader and friend. Men in their shirt sleeves from off the farms, workmen from shops, professors of colleges, and teachers from institutions of learning marched side by side, sharing a common sorrow and grief. Little children, barefooted, tottered along by the side of sorrowing parents, and were lifted up to have one last gaze upon the countenance of the man they knew had been their friend and had advocated their rights in high places of government. I stood at one end of the open grave when the coffin was lowered into the earth. I stood there in silence, and saw the sorrowing multitudes leave for their homes; and I saw women, men, and children who had gathered wild flowers in the fields and had brought them as a last token of remembrance to place upon the grave of the one man in public life whom they loved best.

The greatest honor we can pay to his memory is to live the life that his struggle has taught; to carry on the fight he so nobly led; to make true his prophetic vision of future happiness by putting into practice the principles he advocated, and by avoiding the evils so often pointed out by the words of wisdom that fell from his lips. The work of his life has pictured for us the ideal star of righteousness in the firmament of eternal truth; and those who followed him, those who believed in him, and many who are still unborn, will be moved by the lesson of his life struggle. This glittering light,

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this future hope, has been described by one of the many millions who have felt the wonderful inspiration of his prophetic vision:

In the Valley of Decision,  
Down the Road of Things-that-are,  
You gave to us a vision,  
You appointed us a star,  
And through Cities of Derision  
We followed you from far.

On the Hills beyond To-morrow,  
On the Road to Things-to-do,  
With that strength of hand we borrow  
As we borrow soul from you,  
We know not sloth nor sorrow  
And will build your vision true.

His life struggle against wonderful odds in behalf of humanity has not been lost. The story of his life, the lesson of his struggle, will ever be a beam of hope, leading humanity onward and upward to more glorious and firmer heights. The death of our great leader can not be taken and must not be taken as any disintegration in our ranks. The echo of his clarion voice, which led during his lifetime, will be the rallying cry after he has passed on. From the silence of the death chamber there comes no wailing cry of discouragement and despair. He died as he lived, the same brave, courageous, double-fisted, fighting hero. Humanity's cause, for which he lived and for which he gave his life, demands and will receive the united service of his loyal followers. The banner of human freedom that has fallen from his hands will be raised aloft, and the story of his life will be the encouragement

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that will enable his followers to carry on the fight which he so nobly led, until happiness shall come to every home and joy be enthroned at every fireside. He has imbued more hearts with hope than any other man of his day. He has planted human love in the souls of numberless thousands—a love for truth, for honesty, for fidelity. The things he stood for, the things he fought for, the things he died for, are all noble and uplifting, and will be the rallying cry in future years of the advocates of those who knew him and loved him. His imperfections were only attributes of a great loving heart and soul, anxious to relieve the distress of his fellow men, and while his death might seem to bring discouragement, nevertheless, in some way, somehow, in God's own time, every noble act of his life will redound to the happiness and joy of his fellow countrymen.

He was the leader of the advancing column of aspiration and hope. His physical body has been laid to rest, but his soul, his spirit, has only passed on; and when, in the onward march of humanity, the doubts and the obstacles of selfishness and greed shall have been removed, when the multitudes of the earth shall have advanced to the emblazoned pillars of a perfected and enlightened freedom, and when the mighty avalanche of human progress shall have reached the crossroads of civilization and eternity, there we will find LA FOLLETTE—waiting.

Mr. President, I ask for the adoption of the resolutions.

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The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. La Follette in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the resolutions submitted by the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Lenroot].

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and the Senate (at 1 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, June 21, 1926, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MONDAY, February 21, 1927.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, transmitted to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

Proceedings  
in the  
House of Representatives



## **Proceedings in the House of Representatives**

**MONDAY, December 7, 1925.**

This day, in compliance with the provisions of the Constitution, the Members elect of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-ninth Congress assembled in their Hall and at 12 o'clock noon were called to order by Hon. William Tyler Page, Clerk of the last House.

The Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., Chaplain of the House of Representatives for the Sixty-eighth Congress, offered the following prayer:

*Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open and all desires are known, and from whom no secrets are hidden, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations, before the mountains were brought forth or ever Thou hast formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God. We come again, O Lord, to the sacred duties to which we have been called—hence we approach the throne of divine help and wisdom. Mercifully grant that Thy Holy Spirit may in all things direct our minds and rule our hearts. Give us a great conception of service and a wise understanding of the sacred duties we owe the Republic. O make us all worthy of the confidence and the trust which have been reposed in us. With unswerving fidelity may we be faithful to the duties and sanctities of public and private life. Do Thou direct our President with great favor and wisdom. Day by day abide with the Speaker, the Members, the officers, and the pages of this Congress.*

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*Teach us that righteousness earns its own reward, and that its highest object is man and its greatest service is love. May truth, knowledge, and good will flood the arteries of our beloved country, and thus bless all citizens. Bless all our firesides with love, hope, and peace. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the delegation from Wisconsin, I offer the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, a Senator of the United States from the State of Wisconsin.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the deceased Senators and Representatives, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 8, 1925, at 12 o'clock noon.

TUESDAY, June 22, 1926.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

*Resolved*, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and communicate a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

FRIDAY, January 7, 1927.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I present an order to set apart a day for addresses on the life, character, and public services of Hon. ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin, and ask for its present consideration.

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin presents an order and asks for its present consideration. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Ordered*, That Sunday, the 20th day of February, at 11 o'clock, be set apart for addresses on the life, character, and public services of Hon. ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

The question was taken, and the order was agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, *February 16, 1927.*

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Cooper] to preside next Sunday, February 20, 1927, at the services in memory of the late Senator LA FOLLETTE.

SUNDAY, *February 20, 1927.*

The House met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., and was called to order by Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

*Our Father in heaven, whose name we love, we meet to-day in solemn company, in reverent recognition of Thy providence. We open our hearts to welcome Thy Holy Spirit. Deeper than we have known, clearer than we have seen, waken in us a*

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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*sense of Thy presence and deny us not. Thy love, so large, is not bounded only by Thy love. We pause—we wait. No word or thought of ours can bring back the presence so familiar. One with his armored shroud has dropped into his vast and spacious grave. A man—a statesman, tall and mighty—has fallen upon his broken shield. A fearless pioneer, courageous in defense, has blazed his way through the mist of conflict and now his star radiates in the firmament of the Republic. We pay him tribute with sacred desire. Here we are in the restful calm of this hour, sensible of Thy fatherhood and in the conscious embrace of Christian brotherhood. Take us by the hand and go with us all the way. O God, bless the dear home that he loved and the country that he served. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin, by unanimous consent—

*Ordered*, That Sunday, February 20, 1927, at 10.30 o'clock a. m., be set aside for memorial services in honor of the late ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I present a resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read (H. Res. No. 433) as follows:

*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, late a Member of the Senate from the State of Wisconsin.

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*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Nelson  
Of Wisconsin**

Mr. SPEAKER: ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE was to me for more than a generation a personal friend, trusted counselor, and political leader.

No mortal man ever held in my heart so high a place. During my youthful years and early manhood he was the central figure about which my hopes and activities revolved. Indeed, in those days he almost absorbed my whole personality.

In order that I may speak of him without undue bias I shall endeavor to control the feelings of a lifetime friendship. But what does it matter now to him what we say here in recording his life and services in the annals of his country? He built his own monument; himself wrote upon it a name that will live in history!

To add to or take from his enduring fame is not now within my power nor that of any man. His leadership of a movement to emancipate his fellow men from industrial oppression, and his illustrious career as one of our ablest statesmen, gave to him such conspicuous preeminence in the hearts and minds of men that our best efforts at appreciation seem little more than idle or wasted words.

However much we cherish his memory, all that we can do—those of us who were of the inner circle of his friends and so under the immediate

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impress of his extraordinary personality and the countless millions enriched more indirectly by his radiating influences for good—is to acknowledge publicly our great debt to him for the training, inspiration, and benefits that we shared together in him.

While, therefore, unable to add luster to his life or deeds, we may well make our own, and make known to the world the elements of his greatness, so closely akin to the principles of representative government for which by the very logic of events and abilities of leadership he became the eloquent interpreter and untiring defender.

His conspicuous public career I can not now dwell upon in detail. As a country boy living in a township in which he once taught school, I heard of him as district attorney and was thrilled by the accounts of his triumphs before judge and jury. I read of him with admiration as a Member of the House of Representatives, where he soon rose to high rank, being appointed by Speaker Reed to the Ways and Means Committee with such men upon it as Carlisle and McKinley. I had an humble part in his political activities when as governor of his State he overthrew there the forces of reaction, and as a Member of Congress I witnessed for nearly a score of years his distinguished service as United States Senator, enjoying something of the reflections of his fame.

He was 15 years my senior; but during all these years I learned to know him intimately, and as I knew him I shall speak of him. At the time I had the good fortune of coming into the inner

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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circle of his friends he had suffered his only defeat for reelection to Congress. This was the most critical period of his whole career. He had refused to become a party to a great public wrong at the urgent and seductive invitation of political leaders of his State, and taking advantage of an adverse tide of public sentiment which had swept the Republican Party out of power and LA FOLLETTE with it temporarily, these leaders marked him for destruction. As secretary of the Student's Republican Club of our university, I went up to his law office and said to him, "LA FOLLETTE, I believe you are right. I have not much influence, but whatever I have is with you." He threw his arms around me and with tears in his eyes, he said, "God bless you, young man." That was my initiation 38 years ago, as a LA FOLLETTE man.

Let me describe him as I remember him then. He was not a tall man, but remarkably proportioned, symmetrically and powerfully developed. In nature's garb, his was the form and figure of a Grecian god—his head full domed, his brow high and broad, his hair dark brown and worn a wavy pompadour. His manly face, square chin, and piercing eyes spoke eloquently of firmness of character, keenness of mind, and I shall describe the charm of his winsome and irresistible personality.

His powers of physical endurance were truly marvelous. I saw him work for fully 18 hours a day year after year, his vigor unabated. Indeed, in the earlier years when I worked with him in

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campaigns, he appeared to me to labor 23 hours a day. He had the singular faculty of seemingly being able to will himself to sleep, and that sort of rest for 15 minutes was all that he required to restore his vital forces for continued intense work.

Admirable as were his physical gifts of form and endurance, that which gave him his preeminence among us was his marvelously rich endowment of soul capacity. His love of humanity, his appreciation of the light of truth, and his response to the law of right was always in the superlative degree. The LA FOLLETTE conscience, intellect, and heart—what an inheritance from a Scotch, Irish, and French Huguenot ancestry! How faithfully through his whole life his unconquerable will, in the inner background of his gifted being, stood guard over these priceless possessions of his soul!

LA FOLLETTE taught us by his example to place little emphasis on personal material gain and I often wondered why he seemed so little concerned about his financial resources in all his campaigns. It is my firm conviction that had he devoted his talents to money-making, as he devoted them to public service, he would have become one of our foremost multimillionaires. Not only did he lay no emphasis upon financial gain to himself, but in his political contests in his desire to let the people know what he stood for he was even reckless in his personal sacrifices for the public welfare. So that through life he was not a rich man. He preferred for himself and for his family a modest enjoyment of that to which too many gifted men of to-day give too high a place in human endeavor.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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Nor did he lay stress on religious matters. LA FOLLETTE was, however, by no means an irreligious man. He spoke reverently of Deity. He was a close student of the Scriptures, as can be seen in the many quotations to be found in his written works from Holy Writ. It is also my conviction that had he given himself to spiritual affairs as he did to political he would have been a preacher like the Apostle Paul. There was in him, too, that indomitable will to do, and willingness to die for a great cause and lofty ideals.

The moral sphere rather than the material or the spiritual was LA FOLLETTE'S field of labor. He had an intimate knowledge of human nature. He was a genius in politics in its true meaning—the science of government. He was a great statesman. For what constitutes true greatness? No man is great unless he measures up to at least three standards—greatness of intellect, greatness of conscience, and greatness of heart. Measured by these standards LA FOLLETTE was truly a great soul.

How often I have admired his mighty and many-sided intellect. Well we learned to know that when he gave himself to a problem he would see it steadily, in its length and breadth, and not only see through it but see it through. His keenness of mind carried far. His vision went far beyond present difficulties and dangers; he often saw the end from the beginning.

But LA FOLLETTE had not merely a great intellect. He obeyed the law of his mind. He was loyal to the truth he saw. From him we learned the value of facts. He sought the facts. He wove together

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the facts with relentless logic. His masterful handling of facts united with his dramatic power was to me the secret of his remarkable success as a lawyer before a jury or a speaker on the platform. Only profound prejudiced persons could withstand the convincing power of his presentation of the truth. How often in the Senate I have witnessed him mass fact on fact in a general argument. Reply was impossible. Therefore his opponents seldom attempted to refute his arguments. They would resort to side issues or appeals to prejudice, but their wisest course was silence. Not only was LA FOLLETTE devoted to the truth intellectually; he was honest in speech and conduct. He demanded that same loyalty to truth from all men or he would have no respect for them.

LA FOLLETTE was obedient to his conscience, and therefore had the courage of his convictions. How often I have heard him say, "There is nothing so sacred as righteousness." He stood for righteousness in human government, justice, and equity. He fought for equity for his fellow men affirmatively and he resisted with all his masterly force civic and political wrong of every kind, irrespective of how it would affect either friend or foe for he was no respecter of persons.

While preparing political literature in campaigns I often marveled at the extent of his legislative labors. He not only achieved success in putting through reforms in his own State but had great influence in all the other States of the Union. Wisconsin under his leadership became a

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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legislative workshop for other States to copy from. This was publicly acknowledged by progressive leaders of national renown. His uncompromising loyalty to principle was his distinguishing trait. Compromise he scorned and denounced. He stood for a step at a time but, as he said, a full step. Rather than surrender the principle he would not yield an inch of ground. To him temporary defeat was far to be preferred to permanent compromise. It was this loyalty to principle that gave him such far-reaching influence in national affairs. He would present platforms aiming at civic or political wrongs to national conventions. He well knew they would there meet with defeat. But under his unswerving pressure in the Senate, through the press and on the platform, his political enemies in the Senate would enact his proposed reforms in order to keep control. So that however great his services were directly to his State and to the other States of the Union, what he compelled his opponents to do indirectly in order to retain political and legislative power was even more far-reaching in scope and content.

And LA FOLLETTE had a great heart. He loved greatly. I forbear to lift the curtain of his home life. I shall bear only this witness. It was singularly touching to behold his respectful devotion to his life companion and his fatherly love to his children. No one so tender, so watchful, or so willing as he to make every sacrifice for them.

No mortal man was as firm a friend of his friends. He took a deep personal interest in their success. He planned for their advancement as if

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they were members of his own family. Nothing could shake his confidence in them. He trusted them wholeheartedly. He frowned upon any attempt to injure his friends by speaking ill of them to him. Indeed, I sometimes thought that this excessive confidence in us was a weakness, for he would at times ascribe abilities and virtues to men that they did not possess. And sometimes these friends proved unworthy of their benefactor and tragically turned upon him. But LA FOLLETTE spared neither himself, his family, nor his friends in his supreme love for his country. And his country meant to him his fellowmen, especially the weak, the needy, and the oppressed. Tested by every stand of greatness, LA FOLLETTE was truly a great soul. The soul of him was like a mountain lake—too deep to be fathomed by us to the bottom; yet when among his friends or in the bosom of his family so open, so clear, and so unruffled that we could see as a reflection from him that which was noblest and best in us.

As LA FOLLETTE was a born leader of men, it was inevitable that untold millions of the common people should look upon him as the logical choice for President of the United States. Three times Wisconsin presented to Republican national conventions her famous and favorite son. Unfortunately, however, the truly great men are not elected to the high office of Chief Executive. Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln were only exceptions to the general rule. Men like Webster, Clay, Bryan, and LA FOLLETTE, because of their preeminent abilities and aggressive activities, make many friends, but

**ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE**

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also many foes; and so unknown and mediocre men are for policy sake selected as standard bearers.

The climax of his career came when at the call of the plain people he became their candidate for President as an Independent Progressive. He entered that contest well knowing that however much the people might desire that he serve them as Chief Executive, the forces in control of the machinery and means of power could prevent his election. Yet he willingly made the sacrifice in the spirit of loyalty to his ideals of government and of love for the many that labor in factories and fields whose will and right he fought to enforce.

But, Mr. Speaker, much as I would linger in paying this tribute to my departed friend, the limit of my time forbids. Let me present in conclusion two scenes distinctly impressed upon my memory which demonstrate more than any words of mine the wonderful hold he had upon the hearts of the plain people whose cause he championed. I see the living picture of him as he appeared before the public in the last presidential campaign. No longer in the prime of life he now bears the burden of nigh three score years and ten upon his brow. The dark-brown hair has turned to gray, but seemingly with renewed youth, the old master plays at will upon the heartstrings of the thousands that crowd the halls to hear him. With cheers of approval and admiration that rise and sink over and over again, his audiences are brought to their feet

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time after time under the magic power of his magnetic presence and masterly eloquence.

But grander still the last scene of all. In the capitol of his State I see the silent face of him, life's struggles forever over, so calm and peacefully at rest on the elevated bier that loving hands had draped in the colors of his country's flag, before which 50,000 men and women for two days file by in solemn silence, whose gently flowing tears feelingly testified to their deep sense of personal love and loss. Well may we ask: What American statesman, in our generation, had moved the hearts of millions of his fellow men?

LA FOLLETTE is gone. How we are reminded of his conspicuous absence.

No more does he preside over our councils. Nevertheless we are palpably conscious of his invisible presence, for he built his life into the very bone and fiber of our being and is yet a part of the political atmosphere that envelopes us. Because he lived we are more keenly conscious than ever of our duty to be loyal to the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, for which, in defeat as in victory, he so long and nobly wrought and fought.

LA FOLLETTE is gone, the last of the great pioneer Progressive leaders. As the cause for which he devoted his life is the cause of human freedom, surely at the appointed time some mighty son of the common people, under the providence of God, will take up the burden of leadership where he laid it down to carry it on to certain victory. But the man we knew and loved so long has gone, and

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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while we sadly realize that we have lost our lion-hearted leader, we take solemn pride in knowing that what was said of another great American statesman is also true of our departed friend—he now belongs to the ages!

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From Senator LA FOLLETTE's autobiography the following data has been compiled:

He was district attorney of Dane County two terms, from January 1, 1881, to January 1, 1885.

He was a Member of the House of Representatives for three terms, from March 4, 1885, to March 4, 1891.

He was Governor of the State of Wisconsin for two terms and a part of a third term, from January 7, 1901, to December, 1905, resigning to take a seat in the Senate to which he had been elected.

He served as a Member of the Senate for three full terms and a part of a fourth term, from January 4, 1906, to June 18, 1925.

His years of official service—

District attorney, 4 years.

Representative, 6 years.

Governor, 5 years.

Senator, 19 years and 6 months.

Total service, 34 years and 6 months.

I append to my remarks the following tribute from one of Senator LA FOLLETTE's friends, L. K. Porter, senior member of the law firm of L. K. & S. G. Porter, Pittsburgh, Pa. Hon. Stephen G. Porter, his brother, is the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House.

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### IN MEMORIAM—ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

You can pencil the heavens and give each star its appointed place; you can photograph a brook and show the water dashing itself into spray, but whose tongue can picture, or brush or pen can paint a visible picture of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE? Goldsmith, perhaps—

“As some tall cliff lifts up its awful form,  
Rises from the vale and midway leaves the storm,  
Whilst round its breast the rolling clouds are spread  
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.”

Such was he. Until mind meets mind in subjective influence, no mortal tongue by words or pen can paint a picture that the eye can see. You can trace the shadowy outlines, but beyond that the language can not go.

He was about an average height, a well-poised head on a well-developed body, of sanguine temperament. His facial features in repose were marble, but underneath the placid features raged the fires of Ætna, which lit up with a radiance that dazzled all beholders. He was individualized by forcefulness of speech rather than imagery. He was powerful, but discreet in invective. He dealt in facts, not fancies. He was bigger than anything he ever said or did. There was something in his presence, some silent secret influence, that operated independent of his will upon those with whom he came in contact. He was magic to the people wherever he appeared. He was unpretentious and natural in method and manner. He was ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

His intellect was receptive. He acquired more by observation than from books. Life to him was objective. He saw things as they were. He did not fashion them by the more subtle forces of the brain and live in a realm of fancy.

“Nurtured in the wilds, he sprang forth a Pallas, free and undefiled.”

He threw down the gauntlet to the forces of special privilege, refusing all flags of truce, demanding uncondi-

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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tional surrender until he rescued the people of the State he loved so well.

Fate, however, had decreed a greater work for this man of destiny as a Member of the United States Senate, where for a quarter of a century almost alone he stood the sole guardian of the rights of the people against the forces of special privilege. He never weakened, never despaired, never compromised, but held the banner of righteousness aloft, untarnished as the flag when it fell from the deft and dainty fingers of Betsy Ross. Poor in pocket but rich in spirit, unbending as the giant pine of his native State, deep rooted, he grew up into the sunlight until he overtopped them all and conscious of the righteousness of his cause, withstood all the storms that malice and envy could invent.

He was a man of whom you may not speak—he spoke for himself. He allowed no living man to speak for him. He believed that the natural resources of the country belonged to the people and should not be despoiled for the enrichment of a few.

He believed that the hopes and aspirations of youth should not be crushed by unremitting toil.

That the men who broke the prairie, felled the forest, and tilled the soil should have an equal chance with the money changer in the temple of special privilege.

That the consensus of opinion of the people expressed by ballot was the only safe guide for the Republic.

That the concentration of wealth in the hands of a designing and ambitious few, unless checked, would destroy the Republic.

That the natural resources of the country were passing rapidly into the hands of powerful combinations to the detriment of the people.

That womankind should be given equal rights and privileges.

That no religious test should be required as a qualification for office.

That slavery, whether economic or physical, should be abolished without regard to race, creed, or color.

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That every person should be given an equal opportunity in all the relations of life.

He was not silent. His voice was heard not only on the shores of the lakes and in the forests of Wisconsin, but in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol and throughout the Nation continuously until "the fierce spirit of the grass and the scythe" released him from his labors.

He lived in the present. His great soul was not satisfied with the dead past, its glooms and shadows. Peace, equality, and tolerance among all men and universal liberty for every man should be chiseled upon his tomb as an inspiration for youth and a lasting memorial to the great tribune of the people.

L. K. PORTER.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Rathbone  
Of Illinois**

Mr. SPEAKER: We have assembled to pay our tribute to the memory of a great American. We recognize in him that rarest combination of heart, conscience, and brain which alone can insure the highest success and entitles its possessor to enduring fame.

In Shakespeare's Henry VIII, in the advice given by Wolsey, the fallen cardinal to the young Cromwell, I find the best of political maxims—"Be just and fear not." These words might well have been the motto of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, for his whole life was lived in accordance with this precept.

Justice and courage—these, added to the wisdom of the statesman, are the qualities most needed in public life. A sense of justice causes a man to see the right and to love it. Courage gives him strength to fight for the right in defiance of every consequence and in the face of the fiercest and most powerful opposition.

Senator LA FOLLETTE loved justice enough to fight for it. Unfalteringly, from the beginning to the end of his life, he took the people's side in the great battle for human rights and human welfare and fought and suffered heroically in their cause. Seldom, indeed, has nature sent forth anyone so lavishly gifted, mentally, morally, physically, to take up the task of a tribune of the people. He

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understood the people, sympathized with the people, was true to the people, and the people returned in the fullest measure his understanding, his sympathy, and his fidelity.

He followed a steadfast, a consistent course from the beginning to the end of his life. There were no backslidings, no sudden conversions, no periods of quiescence, much less any time of faltering. Of few statesmen, of few men, can as much be said.

He was a herald of the future. In *LA FOLLETTE* we see the new era, the new spirit, the new conscience, the new attitude toward public life and its problems at the dawn. He was the true father of progressivism, the Columbus of the new world of American politics. It is the prerogative of the greatest men to discover and turn to effect new social and political forces.

Statesmen naturally fall into two classes—those who strive to improve institutions and conditions and those who struggle to preserve them as they are. *LA FOLLETTE*'s gaze was steadfastly forward. He knew that no man and no party could live forever on the past; that what was should only be a stepping stone to what could be. He never worshipped tombstones. The Tory is blind to a present evil or to the possibility of creating a future good.

He lived in an era when the power of money was greater and its acquisition easier, when the pleasure and honors it conferred were more abundant than ever before in human history. It took a strong man indeed to oppose the rising tide of privilege and materialism. ROBERT M. *LA FOLLETTE*

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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was the man for the hour. His task was to see to it that, in the development of mighty aggregations of capital and the altered structure of our national life resulting therefrom, the rights and interests of the people did not suffer.

He changed the spirit of a State. He made the name "progressive" honorable and significant. He made reform permanent.

Thought is the father of achievement. Effective action depends in the first instance on superiority of ideas. Methods and laws that meet the requirements of the age are preceded by thoughts that are true and right.

Senator LA FOLLETTE lives and will continue to live in the laws he caused to be enacted and the resultant good to mankind, and also because he left behind him a host of sustaining friends, a band of political disciples who had the ability and the heart to carry on his work.

No ordinary man could have accomplished such results; only the most extraordinary man could have achieved them. Not in vain has he lived, for every true champion of the people's cause in future years will be inspired by the story of the battle for political righteousness so gallantly waged through a lifetime of self-devotion by ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

Great men are priceless. As has well been said by that profound student of American institutions, James Bryce:

Room should be found in every country for men who, like the prophets of ancient Israel, have, along with their wrath at the evils of their own time, inspiring visions of a better future and the right to speak their minds.

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**And again the same writer says:**

From time to time hope is revived by the appearance of a group of disinterested reformers, whose zeal arouses a nation to sweep away abuses and leaves things better than it found them. It is only sloth and torpor and the acquiescence in things known to be evil that are deadly. So we may hope that the ideal may never cease to exert its power but continue to stand as a beacon tower to one generation after another.

The great man always and everywhere is he who is consecrated to a cause which is greater than himself.

At the same time, he was not a visionary. He was a practical idealist, a common-sense reformer, a sane progressive. He knew how to achieve. His principles became party platforms—his theories the law of the land. The reforms he championed are now the milestones of the Nation's progress for over 20 years. One by one the demands of the people for social, industrial, and political justice, which he championed, were through his efforts and leadership, made part of the institutions and life of his State and the Nation.

Wisdom and justice were his, but these can not avail a statesman without the supreme quality of courage. LA FOLLETTE possessed this heroic trait in as ample measure as any statesman who has ever lived. Never once in his lifelong career did he waiver; never once did he surrender his principles; never once did he compromise with any wrong or cringe to power; never once did he betray the cause of the people. From the beginning to the end of his life the atmosphere he breathed was that of battle. Never did the people have a more

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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dauntless champion. He was always in the forefront of the contest, where danger lies. He was a political pioneer, blazing a new path through the trackless wilderness with all the valor of the Vikings of old, whose motto was "We will find a way or make one."

He loved the clash of arms, the battle for the righteous cause, more than the ordinary man loved ease, wealth, preferment. Yet the fighting quality in him was rendered all the more admirable because of the tenderness of the man, as was evidenced by his ideal home life, the devotion of his family, his great host of loyal friends. "Out of the strong cometh forth sweetness."

His courage endeared him to the people as much as his sense of justice. The public is sometimes angered by one who opposes their will, but so much do men admire genuine courage they will forgive almost any offense in order to follow the man who dares to be right.

Unquestionably the theory of the philosopher Fichte, as explained by President Hibben, is eternally true, namely, that—

In the making of a man power is born of opposition, struggle begets strength; resistance provokes vigor of body and spirit and that the very obstacles to progress make progress possible. \* \* \* The distress of the Nation is the opportunity of the patriot.

Motley, in his work on "Compromise," well says:

It has often been said that he who begins life by stifling his convictions is in a fair way for ending it without any convictions to stifle.

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Infirmity of will is the most fatal defect of all in the character of anyone who would aspire to lead his fellow men.

It was true courage in Patrick Henry when he cried out:

Give me liberty or give me death.

It was courage when John Adams said:

Live or die, sink or swim, survive or perish, I give my heart and my hand to this vote. Independence now and independence forever.

It was courage when Andrew Jackson removed the deposits from the United States Bank. When Henry Clay exclaimed:

I had rather be right than be President.

When Stephen A. Douglas defied Buchanan. When Abraham Lincoln, against the unanimous advice of his friends, determined to utter the fateful words:

A house divided against itself can not stand. I believe that this Nation can not permanently endure half slave and half free.

When Grover Cleveland, toward the close of his first term, sent his tariff-reduction message. When William McKinley, in the face of the storm, reaffirmed his faith in the principle of protection to American industries. And it was courage in LA FOLLETTE when he braved the wrath of the powerful to champion the cause of progress and reform or faced the passions of a people bent on war.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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Spender in his book, "The Public Life," in speaking of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, has this to say:

Again and again one hears it said that a politician has forever done for himself, and again and again it turns out that the supposed unforgivable thing was the foundation of his fortunes. \* \* \* It is almost an axiom of British public life that no one rises to the highest public position unless at one time or another he has stood firm against the prevalent opinion and staked his reputation on what appeared to be a failing cause. \* \* \*

He waited patiently for the inevitable reaction after war, and when it came the public judged that there must be very uncommon qualities in a man who had so dauntlessly kept his flag flying in the tumult of popular wrath. He gained not only power and position, but the peculiar affection which rewards the brave man, and for the short time that remained to him he exercised an authority over his party which few even of its greatest leaders have enjoyed.

James Bryce in his sketches of British statesmen, in speaking of Lord Beaconsfield, also has this to say:

He was not led astray by party cries. \* \* \* And once more, he gained by the many years during which he had opportunity of displaying his fortitude, patience, constancy in defeat, unwavering self-confidence—gifts rather than mere intellectual power, gifts that deserve the influence they bestow. Nothing so fascinates mankind as to see a man equal to every fortune, unshaken by reverses, indifferent to personal abuse, maintaining a long combat against apparently hopeless odds with the sharpest weapons and a smiling face.

And in another place he says:

For practical success it is less fatal to fail in wisdom than to fail in resolution.

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## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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And again:

But a nation needs something more than the intellectual guidance which such men can give. Among them must also be leaders of a firmness who will face opprobrium and defend causes for the moment unpopular. The chief defect of public opinion is its tendency in times of excitement to overbear opposition and silence the voices it does not wish to hear. Courage is the highest and perhaps the rarest quality among politicians. It is specially needed in democratic countries.

Of LA FOLLETTE it might well be said that he was—

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake.

In his autobiography we find passages which reveal most clearly the indomitable spirit of the man:

My whole life had been given to a struggle in which countless battles were necessarily lost in the course of the warfare, so a temporary defeat meant less to me, perhaps, than to men unseasoned by strife. \* \* \*

The result in Illinois and Pennsylvania made no difference with my plans. I had known defeat before and had been trained to meet it with strengthened resolution to press on, building up a real Progressive support, so fixed in convictions as to be utterly indifferent to reverses. The momentum of a victorious army is hard to resist, but an army disciplined by defeat, that will still fight on, is invincible. \* \* \*

No campaign for principle is ever in vain.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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In another place in this inspiring life story he speaks of one of the conventions, when he was a candidate for governor, after he had met with defeat and when his followers were burning with indignation at what they considered the unfair tactics employed by their victorious political foes, when bitterness was in their hearts and discouragement in their souls, that their leader arose and delivered to them a message of dauntless determination, in which he quoted the lines of Henley—

Out of the night that covers me,  
Black as the pit from pole to pole,  
I thank whatever gods there be  
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance  
I have not winced nor cried aloud;  
Under the bludgeoning of chance  
My head is bloody but unbowed.

It matters not how strait the gate,  
How charged with punishment the scroll,  
I am the master of my fate;  
I am the captain of my soul.

His motto was not only "No surrender," but it was more; it was, "No compromise." Falsehood is a form of cowardice, and it was therefore not only foreign, but utterly repugnant, to his nature.

Senator LA FOLLETTE was cast in heroic mold. How puny beside his titanic vigor seemed lesser men! How limited their vision; how narrow their range of thought and action; how selfish their purposes compared with his far-sightedness, his scope, and his entire devotion to the public good!

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It has well been said that—

In a free community the truest—and a sufficient—honor anyone can win is the respect of his fellow citizens.

This man never reached the White House, the legitimate goal of every American's ambition, the heights "where fame's proud temple shines afar," but no one has left behind him a more devoted band of followers, nor won more deservedly the respect of his fellow men.

His place in our political history is assured. Jefferson was no more firm believer in great principles, Jackson was no more ardent champion of the people's rights, Clay inspired no more devoted a following, Cleveland displayed no greater firmness, Roosevelt no greater courage, Wilson no more idealism, Bryan no more energy, Lincoln himself no more unwavering sense of duty than this gallant son of Wisconsin.

To be weakly right is almost as fatal in public life as to be strongly wrong.

In his great epistle, St. Paul speaks most eloquently of the three great virtues of the Christian life—faith, hope, and charity—and concludes with the words:

\* \* \* but the greatest of these is charity.

And so we might say of the three great virtues of the public life—wisdom, justice, and courage:

Though a statesman have a voice of silver and a heart of gold, if he have not courage he is impotent for good among his fellow men. Though he have the brain of a genius and is able to grapple with the great problems of state, and though he cherishes the highest ideals, if he have not courage he is nothing.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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The man of courage rises after every fall stronger and greater than before to renew the conflict, never loses heart or hope, never blames others for his own mistakes and failures, has an abiding faith in the good sense and justice of the people.

Courage does not change, whereas intellect, however great, may blunder, and the most brilliant talents be employed in the most unworthy cause. Nothing in public life is solid and enduring but character, and courage is the backbone of character. And so we arrive at the three great political virtues and sources of enduring success and of lasting fame—wisdom, justice, and courage—these three; but the greatest of these is courage.

And now we lay our final wreath upon the grave of one whom we justly honor and upon the monument, more enduring than marble or bronze, reared to his memory in the hearts of his countrymen, we gratefully inscribe the name of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE.

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*Address by Representative Browne  
Of Wisconsin*

MR. SPEAKER: Congress has convened this Sunday morning to pay tribute to the memory of the late Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, of Wisconsin.

The history, the life, and accomplishments of this most remarkable and distinguished man have been so ably recited by the speakers who have preceded me, and are so fresh in the minds of the people of his own State and the Nation, that I will use the brief time allotted to me in speaking of the one phase of his life which impressed me most—his inherent and fervent love of democracy and his abiding faith and confidence in the people.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was the most outstanding consistent exponent of democratic principles of his time. In my opinion his name will go down in history beside the names of the world's two greatest crusaders for democracy—Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln.

In using the word democrat, I do not use it in any narrow, partisan sense, but in its broad, comprehensive meaning, a person believing in a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people.

The aim and ambition of Senator LA FOLLETTE was to make his country a true democracy as contemplated by Jefferson and Lincoln.

A profound student of the Constitution and the history of his country, his great objective in life

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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was to bring our Government back to the people and make this country a republic in spirit and practice as well as in theory; a republic where the broad highway of opportunity offers an equal invitation to every youth to travel, whether he came as a barefooted boy from a humble cottage or traveled in the golden chariot of ancestral wealth. During the 30 years of his active political life ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was the outstanding champion of human rights and the mighty defender of democratic principles.

When he was very young the responsibility of helping support a widowed mother and the family fell to his lot. Fighting as he had to against adversity his early associations were among the common people of his vicinity, consisting of all nationalities, people engaged mostly in farming and the trades and vocations of a rural population. He knew the thoughts, the ambitions, the hopes, and aspirations of these people, for he was one of them. He also knew the handicaps and injustices that wealth and privilege had placed in their pathway. His bright mind, coupled with a strong constitution and an indomitable will, enabled him to overcome many handicaps which would have stopped others with equal ambition but possessing less physical and mental endurance.

LA FOLLETTE'S development was very fast. He had a marvelous memory, wonderful concentration, and mental energy.

Graduating from the University of Wisconsin in 1879, winning the interstate contest for oratory, admitted to the bar, serving as district attorney of

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his county for four years, and elected to Congress when he was 29 years of age, the youngest Member of the Forty-ninth Congress, were achievements which gave promise of the brilliant career which was to follow.

In his public service, consisting of 6 years in the House of Representatives, 6 years as Governor of the State of Wisconsin, and 20 years in the United States Senate, he was, in my opinion, instrumental in placing on the statute books more laws for the betterment of mankind than any statesman in the history of our country. LA FOLLETTE was a pioneer, a dauntless navigator who dared sail on the uncharted seas—with compass in hand and with eyes fixed on the stars, he never faltered or turned back no matter how high the waves tossed or how fierce the storm beat against him. His unconquerable spirit was never curbed in his crusade of over 30 years for the liberty and rights of the people. He has been called the embattled prophet of the new democracy, a democracy directed by intelligence and organized to guarantee to every child born in this Republic equal opportunities. He dedicated his life to the principle of equal opportunities to all and special privileges to none. LA FOLLETTE defined his own belief in democracy in these words:

I favor equal and exact justice to each individual and to every entrant, yielding neither to clamor on the one hand nor being swerved from the straight course by an interest on the other.

He had a high regard for the rights of property, but, like Lincoln, he always placed human rights above property rights.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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LA FOLLETTE regarded his platform promises as sacred and moral obligations. I remember when the Wisconsin civil service bill was before the legislature for passage. It was the most comprehensive and far-reaching measure of its kind which had been proposed in any State at that time or since. LA FOLLETTE was governor of the State and a firm believer in the merit system and helped draft the bill. He was being opposed by a Postmaster General armed with all the State Federal patronage. Many of the governor's friends, believing that he took his political life in his hands, advised him that he defer the civil-service legislation until the contest was over. In LA FOLLETTE's vocabulary there was no such word as expediency or compromise when he had made a promise to the people. He backed the civil-service legislation as he promised and it became a law, thereby taking from himself practically all of the governor's patronage. He could not reward his friends with positions and had to continue the battle against forces of unlimited wealth who were armed with the effective weapon of the Federal patronage of the State. His many heroic acts like this thrilled the disinterested intelligent electorate of the State, and men and women who had never before taken an interest in politics enlisted in his cause, for they learned to know that the platform pledges of LA FOLLETTE were his political bible and would be religiously carried out.

The laws passed during the time LA FOLLETTE was Governor of Wisconsin attracted attention all over the country. Business had not been injured,

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as many predicted, but, on the contrary, had been benefited and the masses of the people were prosperous, contented, and happy.

Theodore Roosevelt, upon visiting Wisconsin and investigating the working of its progressive laws, said:

Thanks to the movement for a genuinely democratic government which Senator LA FOLLETTE led to overwhelming victory in Wisconsin, that State has become literally a laboratory for wise experimental legislation aiming to secure the social and political betterment of the people as a whole.

No man in public life ever met with more determined opposition nor was confronted with more discouragements nor made a braver fight. In the struggle of the masses which has been going on through the ages LA FOLLETTE not only held the ground gained by those great champions of human liberty who preceded him, but he planted the flag of liberty and democracy far in advance of where he found it.

I remember of his saying to a group of his faithful supporters after a temporary defeat in a convention:

The men who win final victories are those who are stimulated to better fighting by defeat.

He then repeated those lines of Henley's:

Out of the night that covers me,  
    Black as the pit from pole to pole,  
I thank whatever gods may be  
    For my unconquerable soul.

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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In the fell clutch of circumstance  
I have not winced nor cried aloud.  
Under the bludgeonings of chance  
My head is bloody, but unbowed.  
  
It matters not how strait the gate,  
How charged with punishments the scroll,  
I am the master of my fate;  
I am the captain of my soul.

Woodrow Wilson, in a speech at Wilmington, Del., in October, 1912, said:

Now, there arose in Wisconsin that indomitable figure of BOB LA FOLLETTE. I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, I take off my cap to BOB LA FOLLETTE. He has never taken his eye for a single moment from the goal he set out to reach. He has walked a straight line to it in spite of every temptation to turn aside. \* \* \* I have sometimes thought of Senator LA FOLLETTE climbing the mountain of privilege \* \* \* taunted, laughed at, called back, going steadfastly on and not allowing himself to be deflected for a single moment, for fear he also should hearken and lose all his power to serve the great interests to which he had devoted himself. I love these lonely figures climbing this ugly mountain of privilege. But they are not so lonely now. I am sorry for my own part that I did not come in when they were fewer. There was no credit to come in when I came in. The whole Nation had awokened.

When General Grant lay on his deathbed a friend asked him what in these final and suffering days, as he looked back over his career, brought the greatest satisfaction to his mind. The friend may have expected the old commander to mention something he had done—in his plans for the capture of Vicksburg, his scheme for reducing Richmond, his plea for the purely secular conduct of

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the public schools—but the reply went deeper than any one deed. His lifelong purpose now sustained him, and he said:

I take chief pleasure in the fact that I have always had the will to do my duty.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE always had the will to do his duty. A valiant fighter for democracy, a courageous and intrepid soul has passed. But his noble example remains as an inspiration to the living and a heritage to posterity.

**Address by Representative LaGuardia  
Of New York**

Mr. SPEAKER: The House meets to-day in keeping with an ancient custom of this young Republic. The same resolution that was adopted for this special meeting has been adopted hundreds of times in the 140 years of our Republic, but yet how different from the regular meetings of this character. To-day we pay tribute to the memory of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

Mr. Speaker, you suggested to me a few days ago that I should reduce my remarks to writing, and I tried to do it. It is quite possible to make a speech paying tribute to the memory of a public servant in the ordinary run of things, but in this instance it can not be done. The most involved and intricate thought of the human mind can be recorded in writing, but the real anguish of a sorrow-stricken heart will not register on paper. To attempt to relate the accomplishments of this great American would necessitate to index the useful and progressive legislation of this country for the past 30 years.

As I attempted to put on paper my feeling toward Senator ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, I felt how little any of us had accomplished. The sum total of all the activities of the entire American Congress for the last 20 years is a negligible quantity to what this man accomplished.

Some 25 years ago, Mr. Speaker, I attended a performance in the city of Budapest of a great

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French artist who had come there for one evening, and I never did understand what the author really had in mind until to-day. The chief rôle of the play was a professional mourner who was the star of the professional mourners in France at the time that institution was popular, and great were the demands for the services of this mourner. No one knew anything about him, but when any of the nearly great passed away his services were retained to mourn, and he cried—for he knew how to cry, and he led in the crying—until one day he lost all that he had, a little daughter whom he had reared, and when the time came that sorrow had come to his heart he could not cry.

So it is, my colleagues, we may be called upon in the course of our public work to make speeches of tribute from time to time; but when it comes to attempting to pay tribute to a real champion of the people, it can not be done. Eloquent as a speaker may be when his heart is filled with real and genuine sorrow—words will fail him.

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE was the master of applied happiness. Mr. Speaker, we all know that in republics and democracies there are certain inspiring principles beautiful in theory, but, alas, seldom put in practice. When one seeks to make these theories practical, to apply them for the benefit of humanity, the opposition presents itself. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE demonstrated the fundamental principle that besides the protection of life and property, the right of every American “to the pursuit of happiness,” meant something. Oh, some say it was put there just for euphony. Others say it is

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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just pure theory; but LA FOLLETTE applied it, and when you make the many happy you naturally incur the disfavor of a few.

I know of no instance that illustrates this better, perhaps, than his interest in the seamen; and that is but one of his many, many successful efforts for the people against exploitation. A native of a State thousands of miles from either ocean, he became the champion of the seamen who had been exploited for centuries. The poets sung of the heroism of the sailor. The painters recorded on canvas the beauty and the heroic deeds of the life of the seamen. The sculptor put into marble and into bronze the brave acts of the seamen. Is it not peculiar, Mr. Speaker, that in the homes of the great shipowners you would find these paintings, you would find these works of art? Where the soul of the man of the sea was put on canvas and in stone, the same men made the daily life of the seamen continued drudgery and misery. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE took the soul of the seamen and put it where it belongs, in the breast of the American sailor, and made a self-respecting, happy human being out of him. And so all along the line.

I did not have the benefit of his intimate acquaintance, nevertheless he was just as much my teacher as yours. I did not have the benefit of personal contact and counsel with him, nevertheless he inspired us of the East as much as you of the Middle West. He resided in Wisconsin, but he lived in the hearts of the tenement dwellers of my city; and if I understand in any way the

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character of this great man, he would say to us to-day: "Stop; there is too much work to be done; keep away from political expediency; do not waver; keep up the work to make this country great."

He loved this country. He knew more about it than any man of his age. Why? When he wanted to ascertain whether the country was prosperous or not, he did not go to the ticker of a gambling exchange; he went into the homes of the producers of the country.

When he wanted to ascertain the condition of the farmers he did not take a bulletin from the Department of Agriculture; he went into the homes of the tillers of the soil on the farms; and to-day, rather than making this a day of sorrow and mourning, we should make this a day in which we dedicate ourselves to carry on the work that he started. We should be happy that LA FOLLETTE lived, and we should comport ourselves accordingly as Members of the representative body of a free people.

And we will not have done our part unless we keep up the fight against special privilege; keep up the fight to bring happiness into the home of every worker in this country. And the greatness of the Republic will not have been fully acquired until it is truly great, not in a measure of gold in reserve, not in terms of high buildings, not in the number of battleships or standing army, but when the world can look upon this Republic and find a happy land of happy people.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Schneider  
Of Wisconsin**

Mr. SPEAKER: Oh, what a genuine feeling of personal loss and deep sorrow that came over the many followers of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, when, on June 18, 1925, news of his death had come. Stunning was the blow, and the hearts of a nation's people made heavy with grief at the loss of this man who had pioneered the way for greater human liberty. Anxious multitudes of his friends had prayed and hoped that his life might be prolonged, so that he, their leader, could go on and on to do battle for them. But nature had to take its course. LA FOLLETTE had reached a ripe old age. He had lived a full and complete life. He was 70 when he died.

Not very many men have won such a warm place in the hearts of their fellowmen as did ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. This high regard and love for him by all who knew him came as a result of his unceasing and energetic devotion to the cause of human righteousness. Content with but the simple necessities in the way of material things, he spent his energies, not in the accumulation of wealth and great riches, but to help secure a little more of the worldly comforts of life for the many.

So, Mr. Speaker, it is well that we hold memorial services for this great man. Not that it is necessary to commemorate the dead—LA FOLLETTE would not have it so if it be merely to praise his name. I

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speak of him and his life as an example and inspiration for the good of the living.

But time does not permit to relate in detail the wonderful story of the life and work of this most wonderful man—how, from the very beginning of his public career he championed the cause of right and fair play, his first encounter with the arrogance of boss rule, his persistent fight to free his State from the control and exploitation of the special interests.

We in Wisconsin are thankful for his life, and have long enjoyed the benefits resulting from his endeavors. Instead of a government by political bosses, powerful railroad interests, and special privilege, he secured for us a government by the people. Our direct primary which he gave us has made the ballot a real and powerful instrumentality with which the citizens of Wisconsin can approve or disapprove the conduct of its public servants. Many are the reforms which he put through for the State of Wisconsin. So sound and so beneficial did they prove to be that they soon became the models for our sister States. Thus, under LA FOLLETTE's leadership, not only the few but all of its citizens—the farmers, the workers, and the business men—prospered, and to-day Wisconsin stands in a most enviable position—a leader among the great States of this great Union.

This is the best testimonial and evidence of the wisdom and constructiveness of the LA FOLLETTE ideals and principles. But his work in the State, both as private citizen and as its governor for three terms, does not end the story of the achieve-

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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ments of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. He has also played a most conspicuous part in the national life of our country. Indeed, he has made himself felt throughout the length and breadth of this Nation.

Here it was, under the dome of this magnificent building, the Nation's Capitol, as a Member of Congress of the United States, that ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE had labored for more than a quarter of a century. No public servant who sat in this Chamber or over yonder in the Senate ever toiled more diligently and more faithfully in trying to cope with the many perplexing problems that confronted his Nation. For three terms he sat in this Chamber as a Member of the House of Representatives. The late President McKinley was then also a Member of this body, and the tariff question was the chief subject of consideration. LA FOLLETTE was quick to see the importance of this question and prepared himself with the thoroughness that was always characteristic of everything that he undertook to do. His speech on the tariff ranks with the best of those delivered by his older and more distinguished colleagues at that time. This at once won him early recognition and distinction as a student of public affairs and as an able and fearless exponent of his views.

Later, when McKinley became President, he showed his high regard for LA FOLLETTE's abilities by the fact that he offered him the important post of Comptroller of the Currency, but which LA FOLLETTE could not accept. The office of governor

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and the work he was then doing for the State of Wisconsin was more important.

It remains for others to tell more fully about his long and uninterrupted service in the Senate of the United States. It is that period of his life that has stamped its deepest imprints upon our Nation's history. Great were the odds at times which he had to face, but greater still was his courage, which had always carried him past the obstacles that were thrown in his way. Once convinced of the soundness of purpose and justice of the cause, he permitted nothing to deter him. Neither bribery, threats, vilification, or persecution could change the course he set out to follow. He had the courage of his conviction, but oh, how much he had to suffer for it! Particularly fresh in my memory are those terrible trials that he had to go through during the dark days of the World War.

If ever, sir, there was a brave man, it was LA FOLLETTE. It was his high regard for human life and his love for his country that made him do the things which no other man in public life has ever done, and which, in my opinion, stamps him, in our time at least, as the bravest of the brave—a constructive statesman, a real national hero.

LA FOLLETTE, in the Senate, it will be remembered, like in the first days of his fight for the uplift of his State, was practically alone in the struggle to advance the cause of the common man. The press of the country was against him. And organized wealth fought him. LA FOLLETTE made his challenge to them when he declared:

The supreme issue, involving all others, is the encroachment of the powerful few upon the rights of the many.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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This great power has come between the people and their Government. We must, with statesmanship and constructive legislation, meet these problems, or we shall pass them on, with all the possibilities of violent conflict and chaos, to our children.

Democracy can not live side by side in any country with the present system of control of government by private monopoly. We must choose, on the one hand, between representative government, with its guarantee of peace, liberty, and economic freedom and prosperity, for all the people, and, on the other, war, tyranny, and the impoverishment of the many for the enrichment of the favored few.

Knowing the abilities of LA FOLLETTE and fearing the results of the determined purpose of his conviction, his enemies left nothing undone to hinder him. Even the people of the Nation were slow at first to recognize that they had a real champion in LA FOLLETTE, for, in sooth, how could the people of America know the truth when it had always been kept from them by a privately owned, Wall Street controlled, and subsidized press?

But his efforts in behalf of the common people were sure to win their ever-increasing love and appreciation. Once the truth about LA FOLLETTE pierced the veil of darkness cast about them by a prostituted press, they flocked to his banner with the zeal of a religious crusade, and were it not for the fact that wealth is still securely intrenched, and bribery and corruption still play a strong part in national elections, the people in 1924 would have carried their leader to the crowning glory of every American's highest ambition—the Presidency of the United States.

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LA FOLLETTE had shown himself to be the peer among men. In all his endeavors he proved himself equal to his task. Endowed with a strong physique, a keen mind, a powerful intellect, a good voice, and pleasing personality, he was ideally equipped by nature. Habits of industry and determination of purpose were also his. But all this could not have made him the truly great man that he was. It was, sir, the bigness of his heart, sensing always the injustices, inequality of opportunity, and unhappiness of the people that caused him to marshal all of his God-given faculties in his effort to discover their causes and to secure a remedy for them. Like unto the mother heart her child, to LA FOLLETTE the value of human life was the highest thought. He sought greater opportunity for man's free and full development. He wanted to bring humanism into this materialistic and imperfect social and economic order. To him nothing seemed to be more precious, more worthy of protection and preservation than human life itself. Would that we, too, could always be actuated by this high and noble thought.

Thus the value, sir, of the service he rendered, whether through the enactment of constructive legislation which he sponsored or favored, or by his constant exposure and onslaught against corruption in government, can hardly be estimated through an expression of mere words. Neither is it necessary to enumerate here the long list of achievements recorded opposite his name.

But if any one thing should be singled out at this time from his many important accomplish-

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ments, it is the fact that LA FOLLETTE gave life to a different, if not new, political philosophy—the principles of progressivism—gradually to be followed by others, and which, in time, must make our Government more truly democratic, more responsive to the people, and functioning not only for the benefit of the few but for the good of all.

Need we, therefore, wonder why homage is paid to this brave and public-spirited man who has passed from our midst—why eulogies from leaders in every walk of life, all over the Nation, have already been given—yes, that would perhaps cover pages of many a volume attesting the worth of LA FOLLETTE. Also a marble image of him is to adorn the Hall of Fame in the Nation's Capitol to perpetuate his memory, for Wisconsin has already honored its favorite son by causing a monument of him to be erected there. But, for us, sir, the real purpose of to-day's exercises should not be merely to voice our admiration and respect for ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE but to take a renewed hold in the good cause for which he gave his whole life, and to carry on.

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*Address by Representative Beck  
Of Wisconsin*

MR. SPEAKER: I can not describe the feelings that oppress me in attempting to speak of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE. Anything I say, I fear, will only detract attention for a fleeting moment from the enduring monument LA FOLLETTE built for himself. If I were to write his epitaph it would simply be: "LA FOLLETTE." That name, throughout the world, expresses more than anything else that may be said of him. It expresses honesty and integrity, buttressed by profound intellect and matchless courage; it expresses welfare of the human race, defense of the rights of the poor, sacrifice of personal well-being, and all for the making of a better world in which to live.

LA FOLLETTE was fortunate, in his early life, in coming in contact with two of Wisconsin's greatest men, just as thousands of other young men, in turn, have been fortunate in coming in contact with him. These two great men were John Bascomb, president of our State university, and Chief Justice Ryan, of our supreme court.

John Bascomb expounded to the students of the university the doctrine that every individual who avails himself of the training offered by the university at the expense of the State should pay for the opportunity of education in service to the State. Justice Ryan, in a historic address to the

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graduates of the university, in 1873, pointed the way in which that service could be rendered when he said:

There is looming up a new and dark power. \* \* \* The accumulation of individual wealth seems to be greater than it ever has been since the downfall of the Roman Empire. The enterprises of the country are aggregating vast corporate combinations of unexampled capital, boldly marching, not for economic conquests only, but for political power. \* \* \* Already, here at home, one great corporation has trifled with the sovereign power, and insulted the State. There is grave fear that it and its great rival have confederated to make partition of the State and share its spoils. \* \* \* The question will arise, "Which shall rule—wealth or man; which shall lead—money or intellect; who shall fill public stations—educated and patriotic free men or the feudal serfs of corporate capital?"

To the propositions laid down by these two great Americans LA FOLLETTE dedicated his life. In his autobiography he tells us that—

the issue is not the tariff; it is not the currency; it is not conservation or railroad regulation. These are but manifestations of the struggle. The supreme issue involving all others—

He said—

is the encroachment of the powerful few upon the rights of the many.

Only a few days ago we had a demonstration of the truth of that statement as a reminder that the great issue LA FOLLETTE defined is still with us. A single individual representing 145 power companies, capitalized at \$9,000,000,000, told the Members of this House and 118,000,000 people in the United States of America that a pending bill for

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the development of Boulder Dam could not pass unless this Government is willing to build the dam and turn over to the power monopoly the rights of selling the power to the people. LA FOLLETTE believed that that system of legislation and administration meant government by special interests; government by the favored few instead of the many; plutocracy instead of democracy; government by wealth instead of man; feudal serfs instead of free and patriotic men; government by money instead of intellect. And in his 40 years' battle against that system, a battle not yet won, LA FOLLETTE never surrendered and never sounded a retreat.

Demosthenes was driven to the grave for preaching democracy to the ancients. Socrates was forced to drink the cup of hemlock for advocating that men should seek the truth. Cicero was beheaded for endeavoring to drive corruption out of the Roman Empire. Lincoln was assassinated for abolishing human slavery. LA FOLLETTE was persecuted for trying to put into effect the Declaration of Independence. And the One who brought Christianity into the world was crucified on the cross. LA FOLLETTE placed human rights above property rights. When Wisconsin placed him in charge of the affairs of the State, by electing him governor in 1900, LA FOLLETTE immediately began the struggle of wresting the government of Wisconsin from the hands of the powerful few and placing it in the hands of the many. That was in exact accord with the conception of government as laid down by the fathers of this country and

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expressed in both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

His first step in the great struggle that followed, a struggle that was to continue for a decade, was to abolish the old caucus system where delegates to conventions, and public servants from United States Senators down to coroners, were chosen in the back rooms of saloons, and to place the machinery for choosing public servants in the hands of the people, through direct primary, giving the man in overalls as much to say about his Government as the magnate of corporate wealth. For this, he was called a dangerous radical. His next step was to attack the power of the railroads, those identical corporations referred to by Chief Justice Ryan, 25 years before, as seeking to "make partition of the State and to share its spoils." During LA FOLLETTE's first administration as governor, and after every proposal for bringing these great corporations under control had failed, the railroads made the boast that no legislation had been enacted in Wisconsin in 30 years that had not been approved by them. Defeated in the legislature, LA FOLLETTE appealed his case to the court of the last resort, the people of Wisconsin. During this campaign the railroads brought to their support the banks of the State. Through their system of rebates they secured the aid of merchants, manufacturers, and chambers of commerce, who furnished money to go out over the State and buy editorial space in the newspapers. The press, accordingly, denounced LA FOLLETTE as a most dangerous demagogue, seeking to wreck the

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financial fabric of Wisconsin, drive factories out of the State, throw thousands of wage earners out of employment, and ruin the farmers by taking away their markets.

But LA FOLLETTE had the facts and he never went into battle without ammunition. This, coupled with his oratorical powers, made him an impregnable warrior in the fight for economic justice. He read the roll call on men and measures. He held the public records of public servants up to the gaze of the voters, and when the people understood, the railroads were brought under control of the State.

He placed our banking system upon as solid a foundation as may be found anywhere in the Union. He created a tax commission and abolished a tax system that permitted the railroads to assess themselves, and built up a system of taxation for the whole State in accordance with the principle of "ability to pay." He placed the public health above profits and drove food adulterators beyond our borders. LA FOLLETTE found many of our factories hotbeds of filth and disease. He found them drawing upon our future laboring capital by employing children of tender years at tasks and hours entirely beyond endurance. He found women, mothers—employed as long as 41 consecutive hours—at tasks beyond their strength, sacrificing their health in order to get bread for the family. He found many places of employment breeders of crime. He found that among the 400,000 workers of the State there were 30,000 industrial accidents per year that caused an aver-

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age loss of time of two weeks or more, and as high as 271 of these were fatal. He found that in every community where the death rate from tuberculosis was highest, in that community the most insanitary conditions in factories and workshops existed. He found that employers were paying \$5,000,000 a year to insurance companies for protection against liability for accidents, and that only about one dollar out of every fifty found its way into the pockets of the injured workingmen or their dependents. The remainder went to the coffers of insurance companies and the pockets of attorneys and claim agents. He found that 60 per cent of the time of our courts was taken up by damage cases arising out of industrial accidents.

LA FOLLETTE changed all this. He took the children of the State out of the factories and placed them in the schools. He prohibited, through legislation, the employment of women and children in places dangerous to health or morals. He cleaned up the factories of the State so that the death rate from tuberculosis fell in factory districts as sanitary conditions improved. He reduced the accident rate of the State over 60 per cent and diverted the \$5,000,000 paid by employers for insurance into the pockets of injured workmen or their dependents, and entirely relieved the courts of damage suits arising from industrial accidents.

For this work no honest man who knows the record and has ever read the Declaration of Independence, will say LA FOLLETTE was a demagogue, a radical, or a man seeking the destruction

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of democracy. These epithets come from the powerful few whenever their supremacy is challenged. It was so in the days of the Magna Charta; it was so in the days of Jefferson; it was so in the days of Lincoln; and it was so when the star of Bethlehem poised above the lowly manger. But let us hope that it may not always be so.

After LA FOLLETTE had served three terms as Governor of Wisconsin, his people sent him to Washington to do for the Nation what he had done for the home folks. What he did here may safely be left to the verdict of history.

But I think it will not be disputed that for nearly 20 years LA FOLLETTE was leader of the Progressive opposition and the spokesman of millions of American people in the United States Senate. It was he who organized and led the revolt in the Republican Party against party leaders, which culminated in the direct election of United States Senators, control of corporate wealth by a more progressive body of legislation, in State and Nation, and a higher sense of civic consciousness all over this land than we have known since the World War.

When that war engulfed Europe in August, 1914, LA FOLLETTE took his stand with 90 per cent of the American people, including the spokesmen and leaders of all parties, for peace. He proposed as early as 1915 the calling of a conference of the neutral nations of the world for the protection of neutral rights against all belligerents alike, and for mediation between the warring powers. As a candidate for a third election to the United States

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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Senate in 1916, LA FOLLETTE gave an open specific pledge to his people that he would continue his efforts to keep this country out of the World War.

LA FOLLETTE kept that pledge. Ten years ago this month he conducted the historic filibuster that defeated the armed ship bill, a measure that was opposed with equal vigor in this body by Kitchin, of North Carolina, the majority leader; Mann, of Illinois, the minority leader; and Champ Clark, of Missouri, the Speaker of the House.

Yet from that hour LA FOLLETTE was singled out alone for the most savage campaign of abuse, misrepresentation, and vilification ever visited upon a public man in the history of this country. The people of Wisconsin understood why. They knew that in the eyes of his calumniators LA FOLLETTE had sinned not by opposing war, as many other patriotic men had done that, but by insisting that great wealth should pay its share of the cost of the war.

This is not the time or place to review the events of that period when LA FOLLETTE, after a nation-wide propaganda was condemned by the legislature of his own State, by the faculty and board of regents of his alma mater, by the city club of his own city, and threatened with expulsion from his seat in the United States Senate. But in 1922 LA FOLLETTE submitted his war record to the people of Wisconsin, discussed and defended it, and he received the greatest indorsement ever given a United States Senator in a primary and an election.

I shall only say here that LA FOLLETTE took more pride in his war record than in any other official act of his life, and I offer the prediction that when

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the day comes, as it will come, when a majority of the seats in this body and in the Senate are filled by men who love peace enough to fight for peace, who will make the choice between peace and war without fear of Executive power, or the propaganda of the press, or the pressure of selfish corporate interests, ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE will be sustained.

There comes back to me now the memory of my first glimpse of LA FOLLETTE 30 years ago. He was then making his first campaign for governor in the campaign of 1896. I heard him in the opera house at the little city of Stevens Point, where I was a college student. I followed him to the next town the next night, drawn to him like thousands of other young men of our State by the dauntless courage, the evident honesty, and the mental power of the man. And as I followed him from that first meeting 30 years ago until the day of his death, I found him preaching always the same doctrine and fighting for the same principles of democratic government.

Although five millions of American citizens supported LA FOLLETTE as an independent candidate for President in 1924, the mass of the people of the Nation never knew him as the people of Wisconsin knew and understood him. They were never permitted to know him. In Wisconsin, LA FOLLETTE literally covered every square mile of the State in a dozen campaigns from 1894 until 1922, in which he overcame the organized opposition of the press, the corporations, the large banks, and fashionable society with no weapon except his own power on

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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the platform. I have seen him hold an audience of 10,000 people with a complex economic discussion, and with the same earnestness and effort address a dozen farmers or mechanics at a country crossroad.

On the platform, LA FOLLETTE was a great teacher, educating the people of the State in politics and economics. In office, as legislator or executive, he was a tireless and resourceful builder, seeking to adapt our Government to modern conditions to afford democratic results.

LA FOLLETTE understood the common people because he was one of them by origin and never lost his contact with them. He summed up one of the cardinal principles of his creed when he said:

I do not fear public opinion; I respect it.

This man has often been represented as a domineering, hard, and bitter personality, but as one who knew him for 30 years I can testify that no man ever possessed a more kindly disposition, a more sympathetic nature, or was more sensitive to the feelings of those about him than he. Sometimes mistaken in his judgment of men, often betrayed by trusted lieutenants, LA FOLLETTE could forgive and forget a personal injury, but he would never compromise a principle or have commerce with the trimmer. He remained to the last open-handed and helpful to all men and an inspiration to the youth of the State. When he died, hundreds of thousands of homes in the State, where he had never been known except as "Bob," mourned his passing as that of a member of the family.

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From the time LA FOLLETTE entered this House nearly a half a century ago as a young man of 29, throughout a public career of 40 years, he never betrayed a trust or failed his people. When history shall have balanced the scales and rendered him full justice, ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE will be accorded a place, where the people of his own State who knew him best have already enshrined him, with Jefferson, and Lincoln, in company with the noblest defenders of human rights of all lands and of all ages.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Howard  
Of Nebraska**

Mr. SPEAKER: It is a very high privilege to be called here by my colleagues from Wisconsin to pay by presence and by voice a little tribute to the memory of a wonderful man.

In view, Mr. Speaker, of the presence of so many Representatives of his own immediate home country, I think perhaps it would be out of place this morning for me to take up very much time in paying my particular tribute. Rather I would be pleased to have permission to say now that I shall adopt the tributes paid by his every fellow here as my own indeed.

Mr. Speaker, if one should employ the term "beautiful grief," one might be misunderstood. And yet this morning I have witnessed evidences of beautiful grief upon the faces, upon the cheeks, and upon the quivering lips of men who loved ROBERT LA FOLLETTE while he lived, and who love his memory now.

Often I have heard men say that these memorial services which we of the Congress conduct in memory of our loved and lost are meaningless. To me, upon an occasion like this a year or so ago, when tributes were expressed in the United States Senate in honor of him whose memory we are honoring to-day, I was thrilled, I was joyed, by the tributes paid to the memory of ROBERT LA FOLLETTE by men

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who had served with him in the Senate during the dark days when he was so much misunderstood because of the course he pursued with reference to the entry of our country into the war. And when I heard one after another of those Senators speak of him as a pure patriot, and particularly regarding the words of Senator Fernald, who was so long his seat mate in the Senate, and hearing Senator Fernald pronounce ROBERT LA FOLLETTE as one of the purest patriots he had ever known, I felt that that ceremony was of value not only to LA FOLLETTE's friends but also to the American people, who had believed in him, and who for a little while had been swept away from their belief by the frenzied advocates of war.

I am thinking this morning, Mr. Speaker, that I might pay the highest tribute to the memory of ROBERT LA FOLLETTE and might make an interesting disclosure to the fellows of his own home Commonwealth here assembled by citing what appears in my own community to be a positive fact, namely, that the greatest living poet had LA FOLLETTE in mind when he painted that word picture of the champion of the common people in contest with the monster of greed; in fact, I am sure he had ROBERT LA FOLLETTE in mind when he wrote his *Battle Cry*. Ah, I was sure of it after conversation with that great poet time and again, although I am not privileged now to tell you positively that in those lines LA FOLLETTE was the poet's hero. Yet I am privileged to tell you that I drew, and honestly, I think, from the poet's conversation the fact

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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that at least LA FOLLETTE was one of the heroes he had in mind when he wrote the Battle Cry. And with that suggestion, Mr. Speaker, I think I may pay my best tribute now to the memory of ROBERT LA FOLLETTE by reciting here that great poet's battle song, that great poet's heart cry of the people, which he drafted under caption "The Battle Cry." I can see ROBERT LA FOLLETTE in every line of it. I have heard LA FOLLETTE often, although never privileged to have that close acquaintance with him which would have been my pleasure and my profit. But as boy and man I have studied him, and in the lines of this greatest of poets I have the privilege of looking right out through the lines, and at the end of each of them to behold my memory picture of ROBERT LA FOLLETTE. The poet said:

THE BATTLE CRY

More than half beaten, but fearless,  
Facing the storm and the night;  
Breathless and reeling, but tearless,  
Here in the lull of the fight,  
I, who bow not but before Thee,  
God of the fighting clan,  
Lifting my fists, I implore Thee,  
Give me the heart of a man!

What though I live with the winners  
Or perish with those who fall?  
Only the cowards are sinners,  
Fighting the fight is all.  
Strong is my foe—he advances!  
Snapt is my blade, O Lord!  
See the proud banners and lances!  
Oh, spare me this stub of a sword.

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Give me no pity, nor spare me;  
    Calm not the wrath of my foe.  
See where he beckons to dare me!  
    Bleeding, half beaten—I go.  
Not for the glory of winning,  
    Not for the fear of the night;  
Shunning the battle is sinning—  
    Oh, spare me the heart to fight!

Red is the mist about me;  
    Deep is the wound in my side;  
“Coward!” thou criest to flout me?  
    O terrible foe, thou hast lied!  
Here with my battle before me,  
    God of the fighting clan,  
Grant that the woman who bore me  
    Suffered to suckle a man!

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Peabey  
Of Wisconsin**

Mr. SPEAKER: More than 70 years ago, in a little log cabin in Dane County, Wis., ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was born. We are assembled to-day to pay our respects to that man, not for the wealth he accumulated nor for what he inherited but for the things he accomplished and his steadfast devotion to his ideals.

Words spoken here will add little to the memory of Senator LA FOLLETTE. His life of service to the plain people constitutes a monument more enduring than our poor efforts of eulogium. His record of achievements will keep his name shining on the pages of history long after his foes have faded into oblivion.

Beginning his career in Wisconsin at a time when the State government was in the clutches of corrupt political bosses, when intrigue and bargaining in the public business was the order of the day, ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE at once found himself opposing these influences. He soon learned that the captain of industry can always enlist the aid of the best talent in the land; that wealth can always purchase its defenders; and that the plain people seldom have an advocate to speak for them. In keeping with his nature, he instinctively threw his lot with those of his kind, and from that time forward until the day of his death his whole thought and energy were spent fighting their

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battles, striving to make the world a little pleasanter, a little brighter for those who toil.

A State government which has not been touched by the breath of scandal for the last 25 years and a State citizenry enjoying economic, political, and religious freedom is a living evidence of the accomplishments of this man and the soundness of his principles. In the past generation no man has dared come before the people of Wisconsin and advocate the return to the spoils system of political control which existed before ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE swept corruption from the corridors of the State capitol at Madison.

But, Mr. Speaker, I recognize the futility of attempting in the brief space allotted to me to recite the things ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE accomplished in his lifetime. It would be useless to attempt even in a much longer time to recount the far-reaching effects of his achievements. I can not, however, refrain from testifying to the intellect and moral courage of the man who held such complete sway over the people of Wisconsin.

He had a restless mind; he sought always to pick out the flaws in government, to overthrow tyranny, and expose political dishonesty. Not only did he seek the errors in the social order but he sought the remedy as well. It is not the part of a genius to discover the flaws, but to prescribe a remedy is the test of statesmanship.

In a large measure Senator LA FOLLETTE's success as a statesman may be attributed to the fact that he never advocated a measure, he never fought for a principle without first absorbing all avail-

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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able facts and information and marshaling them into orderly array. His was a method of research and experiment step by step. He did not shrink from a principle because it was new or fear a measure because it was untried.

To the stranger he appeared as one who reveled in the carnage of battle, who delighted in striking down his opponents, but in truth nothing was farther from his nature. His sympathies were all with those who tilled the soil and labored in the factory, and he granted no quarter to those in the seats of the oppressor. When obeying meant violating his convictions, when acquiescing meant what he conceived to be surrender, when to follow meant to abandon his principles, he took the only course open to one of his nature and stood and fought for what he believed to be right. No matter what the odds, he hewed to the line until the day of his death.

Mr. Speaker, no comments upon the life of Senator LA FOLLETTE would be worth while without mention of his great courage. During the days of the World War, when the flames of passion swept the Nation and threatened to consume all who had the temerity to speak in the name of peace, when the cry of "traitor" and "pacifist" engulfed all who had the courage to protest against war, Senator LA FOLLETTE exhibited an example of courage seldom recorded in the pages of history.

Foreseeing the results of war and possessed of an unbounded sympathy for those who must suffer the hardships of war, he instinctively opposed it. Having determined upon his course, he launched

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himself into the struggle in their defense with all his energy. He never doubted the righteousness of his position. That stand brought down upon his head an avalanche of vituperation. From one end of the land to the other he was denounced as a traitor to his country, an agent of the Kaiser, and some found the term "copperhead" most convenient. When he entered a street car it was immediately vacated; when he appeared it was the signal for hisses, but he continued on his course! Standing at his desk in the Senate directly in front of the Vice President, when the whole country was clamoring for war, his voice rang out in denunciation of all the hideous sufferings and hardships that inevitably accompany armed conflicts between nations. Thus alone he stood while his fellow Senators denounced him as an enemy of mankind. But those dark days are fading from memory. To-day, on this occasion, we acknowledge our appreciation of the superb courage of the man. No words may be more fittingly applied to him than a paraphrase of his favorite lines from which he seemed to draw inspiration:

It mattered not how strait the gate,  
How charged with punishments the scroll,  
He was the master of his fate,  
He was the captain of his soul.

Mr. Speaker, the champion of the plain people has gone home, never again to raise his voice in defense of the oppressed. His dynamic personality, his powerful intellect and devotion to those he loved are no more. To us who remain and believe in his principles falls the duty of reaffirm-

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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ing our faith in him and carrying on the ideals for which he gave his life.

MEMORIAL RESOLUTION TO COMMEMORATE THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE ADOPTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF WISCONSIN JUNE 19, 1925

(“I am at peace with all the world, but there is a lot of work I still could do. I don’t know how the people will feel toward me, but I shall take to the grave my love for them which has sustained me through life.”—Last words of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE.)

Joint resolution to commemorate the life and services of  
ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE

Wisconsin mourns the death of its most illustrious son, its senior Senator, ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE.

LA FOLLETTE and Wisconsin are inseparable in the minds of the American people. This State has had other great leaders, men of ability and vision. No other of its sons, however, influenced so profoundly the history of the State and Nation.

A native son of Wisconsin, LA FOLLETTE was born in the town of Primrose, Dane County, on June 14, 1855. He was graduated from the University of Wisconsin with the class of 1879, was admitted to the bar in 1880, and in that year was elected district attorney, a position which he held for four years. He was elected to Congress in 1884 and was twice reelected. One of its youngest Members, his ability won him a place on the Ways and Means Committee, the most important in the House of Representatives.

After completing his last term in the House in 1891, LA FOLLETTE for 10 years held no public office. During this period he founded a political organization, which was the beginning of what has come to be known as the “progressive movement” throughout this country.

Elected governor in 1900, he was reelected in 1902 and 1904. As governor LA FOLLETTE attracted nation-wide attention by his successful fight for the constructive, pro-

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gressive legislation for which Wisconsin has become famous. From LA FOLLETTE's administration dates the ascendancy of the University of Wisconsin and the correlation of its activities to the public service. Under his leadership were enacted the first state-wide primary law and the first effective railroad-rate regulation law in the Nation, model antipass, railroad taxation, banking, civil service, and labor laws, and many other enactments which, like those enumerated, have stood the test of time and have been copied by other States and the Federal Government.

LA FOLLETTE was elected United States Senator in 1905, and after completing the work he promised to do as governor took his seat in the Senate in December of that year. From that date he served continuously as a Senator until his death, being three times reelected by unprecedented majorities.

In his 20 years of service as United States Senator LA FOLLETTE was the outstanding champion of human rights and of legislation for the protection of the weak and the oppressed. In his fight to abolish slavery on American merchant ships, to prevent child labor, to limit the hours of service of railway employees and of women in industry, and to safeguard the lives of the workers, he improved the conditions of labor of millions. In initiating the policy of preserving the natural resources remaining in the public domain and in Indian lands under the leasing system, and in protecting the rights of the Government in the naval oil reserves, he was the most comprehensive and practical advocate of conservation of his generation. In his never-ceasing battles against monopoly and for railroad rates allowing only a reasonable return upon actual investment he protected the economic interests of all the American people. In pressing forward the cause of women's suffrage and in securing the popular election of United States Senators he advanced the cause of democracy. In his successful efforts to purge the United States Senate of men elected by lavish and unlawful expenditures of money he protected the National Congress against debauchery and corruption. In

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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his courageous advocacy of the rights of free speech and liberty of the press he upheld the best traditions of the fathers. In the greatest struggle of his time, namely, the attainment of social justice and of industrial and political democracy, LA FOLLETTE was the leader, and his leadership was one of courage, ability, constructive power, vision, and, above all, of deep and passionate sympathy with the common people.

LA FOLLETTE was the recognized head of the progressive movement in the United States. Never was his influence greater than at the time of his death. Lacking organization and campaign funds, LA FOLLETTE in 1924 polled 5,000,000 votes for President of the United States, the largest vote ever cast for an independent candidate.

LA FOLLETTE was ever the champion of the common man and the advocate of democracy. Democracy to him meant not merely political democracy but equality of economic opportunity. He fought relentlessly graft, corruption, and all forms of special privilege. He never compromised a principle. He had the courage of his convictions despite calumny and ostracism.

All who really knew LA FOLLETTE loved him. Many of his political enemies were his personal friends. Largely shunning "society," he devoted himself to his public duties and to his home and fireside. His devotion to his family was exemplary. His long career was never sullied by breath of scandal, personal or political.

A man of great industry, of keen analytical mind, an outstanding student of economics, he brought to the presentation of public questions a storehouse of facts and a masterly application of philosophy to the political and economic problems of his time. His great ability, his unswerving and unselfish devotion to public service, his unimpeachable integrity, his unsurpassed courage, his consistent adherence to his ideals, generally acknowledged in his lifetime, are universally conceded upon his death.

LA FOLLETTE is dead, but the soul of him lives in people's hearts wherever men are striving for freedom. LA FOLLETTE'S voice is still, but the spirit that spoke

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through it is the spirit of brotherhood and righteousness, and is enduring.

Millions the world over mourn the death of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE. More intensely than elsewhere this sense of the loss of a great leader of the people is felt by the citizens of Wisconsin. He was the embodiment of the spirit of the State. Born, raised, educated within this State, laboring in behalf of its people, he was by them beloved in a personal way as was no other man in the history of the Commonwealth: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the assembly, the senate concurring, That this resolution be spread in full upon the journals of both houses to express the recognition of the State of Wisconsin of the services rendered to the State and Nation by ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE.*

HERMAN W. SACHTJEN,  
*Speaker of the Assembly.*

C. E. SHAFFER,  
*Chief Clerk of the Assembly.*

HENRY A. HUBER,  
*President of the Senate.*

F. W. SCHOENFELD,  
*Chief Clerk of the Senate.*

**Address by Representative Kvale  
Of Minnesota**

Mr. SPEAKER: For nearly a quarter of a century I made my home at Orfordville, a village in southern Wisconsin, almost within the shadow of the State capitol. During that time it was my privilege to know something of the man to whose memory we are to-day meeting to pay tribute; I witnessed the strife—the unending strife—in which he was plunged by the driving force of his deep-seated convictions; I saw at close range the fires that played about him.

I saw, oh, how many times, how the people flocked to his standard; I saw the throngs that greeted him on every occasion, whether his subject touched matters of state or whether, perchance, he delivered a scholarly lecture on Shakespeare.

As for myself, I went many an evening to the neighboring cities—Brodhead, Janesville, Beloit—to sit, spellbound, for three hours or more in rapt, almost worshipful, attention. And if compelled in those early days to spend the night in a freight-train caboose in order to fill an appointment for the day following, I felt well repaid for the inconveniences I endured.

To me, as a young man in the ministry, he was the true hero, always the one to champion the cause of the lowly and the downtrodden. In many ways he seemed to me the very embodiment of the spirit of the Nazarene. The impress made on my youthful mind can never be obliterated.

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And the more I saw him and heard him and read of him, the more he increased in stature. With every act, every utterance, every influence he grew and developed, and his impress deepened.

To-day, after more than 30 years of intimate acquaintance with and careful study of his life and work, his achievements and his efforts, it is my calm, sober judgment that the historian of the future will acclaim him one of the greatest men that God ever reared on the Western Hemisphere.

Our sense of values, in a national way, is not reliable. All through the history of our great Nation we find proofs of the statement that men who have performed the most distinguished service have often been denied a true appraisal of their worth until long after their death.

It may be a safe assertion that, even as Webster and Clay in their time towered above the Presidents under whom they served and made themselves felt as the great constructive statesmen of their time, so will LA FOLLETTE stand out as a man of achievement long after his contemporaries in higher office have been forgotten.

The greatest political honors of the Nation often are bestowed on men who capitulate to popularity, who prefer to avoid strife rather than to be guided by principle, guided often into a soul-scorching battle. Of the latter type was LA FOLLETTE, he who has brought about more constructive changes in our governmental policies and practices than any other one man of his time. Others have enumerated some of them; I shall not do so at this time.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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Only this one point: He is great among the great men not only because he had the unflinching courage to attack the forces he knew were operating against the public weal, not only because he was the "Fighting Bob" that has made one of the most picturesque and lovable figures in history, not only because he attacked the existing order, but because always, always he offered, with God-given vision, a constructive, workable, sound remedy for what he criticized. First for his home State of Wisconsin, then for his beloved United States.

First for his home State; yes. And to-day Wisconsin has a government and laws which are the basis for constructive changes and forward-looking amendments in the laws of every State in the Union. Add to that truly remarkable service the list of accomplishments for his Nation, and you have a record of service that no man since Lincoln can duplicate.

He loved his fellow men. His actions showed it all through his life; and his last spoken word reiterated it.

For them he wanted greater happiness. To that he dedicated himself, and in that effort for their happiness he found his own, a happiness which he valued above riches or praise or material reward.

For them he wanted a fuller expression in the halls of Government. He knew that their interests were not pressed as vigorously as those of the smaller, more powerful group. He saw their privileges slipping away from them, saw the steadily increasing advantages of the monopolistic

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industrial and financial groups, and saw that protesting voices were too few and too weak to combat this tendency successfully.

There was his life work. To raise his clear voice for the inarticulate, to represent faithfully and ably the great mass of unorganized citizens who were not able to use influence and strategy to protect their rights and interests, to stand unwavering in the path of any legislative proposal which would not be for the greatest good to the greatest mass of people, to vision sound and constructive remedies, and to fight for their adoption regardless of consequences to LA FOLLETTE, the man—to do all these was his inspired work.

Others in his time felt the same call, the same prompting, undoubtedly with fully as great force, and responded with the same measure of whole-hearted, unselfish service. But they lacked, in some part, his accomplishments, characteristics, personality. God gave him ability and talent in amount that is rarely found in one man's body and soul. Courage was his, an indomitable resolve, inexhaustible patience, rare judgment and discernment, a depth of love and sympathy that not many could gauge. And these elevated him far above the rest.

A man with the soul of an idealist, and yet immensely practical. A man who had known the bitterest sorrows that come to men, but whose fine optimism would not be crushed. A man for whom disappointments only whetted determination, for whom delays only confirmed patience, for whom opposition but refined courage. Is it any wonder his people loved him so?

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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I shall carry to my grave the memory of the day of his burial and the evidence there given of that love. I shall remember the services, simple and modest and unassuming as the man himself was, yet significant and inspiring as he, too, was. I shall not forget the masterly tribute paid him by Doctor Haydon, nor the many pictures that flash to my mind when my thoughts go back to that day. But more soul-stirring than any of these to me was the sight of the grief-stricken thousands who waited their turn, numb and dumb with the sense of personal loss, to look on their friend for the last time. Such tributes speak more eloquently than any words we can utter.

But there are tributes—words that our great and prominent men have left us. Associate Justice Brandeis has said:

No man in public life to-day expresses the ideals of American democracy so fully as does LA FOLLETTE in his thought, his acts, his living. No man in public life to-day has done so much toward the attainment of those ideals.

An eminent southern jurist, Walter Clark, then chief justice of North Carolina's supreme court, paid this striking tribute:

He is more than a Republican, more than a Democrat. Above all men of my time, he is the representative of the great common people of this country.

Said Warren S. Stone, head of the Locomotive Engineers:

Senator LA FOLLETTE always keeps his promises. Partisan politics have never influenced him. If a thing is right, Senator LA FOLLETTE is for it; and if it is wrong, he is against it, regardless of politics.

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Quotations from the pen of Theodore Roosevelt and of Woodrow Wilson have already been given by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Browne, and I shall not repeat them.

With William Jennings Bryan, LA FOLLETTE brought the fight against corruption to a nation-wide stage. To-day, these two are the figures which mark the definite beginning of the new era; their work will continue; their words of warning and inspiration still ring in our ears.

As compared with many other men in public life in the Nation, we know that meager, indeed, was the material reward meted out to LA FOLLETTE. A bare sustenance for himself and his loved ones was his; whereas, had he chosen to turn his unusual talents into other lines of endeavor, he would have been assured a life of opulence and ease.

He consciously, willingly chose these paths, and he found his compensation in the love and esteem of the people, to whose welfare he dedicated his life, and in the satisfaction that comes in knowledge of duty well performed. These compensated for the intense hatreds and bitter feelings aroused against him by his attacks upon the organized forces who were depriving the people of their rights and liberties.

His very weakness proved his pillar of strength. It was because he did possess a sometimes violent, always righteous temper, and a sharp tongue that he was able to wield such a mighty influence. Enemies hated him for his denunciations, hated him more cordially than any other man in public

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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service, yet they were impressed with wholesome respect. The public heard and remembered when his stern voice raised itself, as they never could have done had he been a flowery orator incapable of emotional stress. No honest man questioned his sincerity and his rigid adherence to principle, come what may.

What an instance of that almost superhuman trait, to recall the experiences that were his in the days of the recent war. And what a satisfaction it must have been when the reaction set in, and vindication came. Nearly three years ago, while Senator LA FOLLETTE was still in his full vigor and performing his most useful service, I spoke the following words on the floor of the House:

The war profiteers and dollar-a-year patriots of this country hounded and persecuted and crucified on the tree of public opinion the greatest living constructive statesman of this or any other Nation, because he shouted open defiance to the lying hypocrites proclaiming their patriotism to high heaven as they went forth to loot and plunder and exploit, wrapped in the silken folds of the Flag of Freedom. But after every crucifixion in the history of mankind there is a corresponding resurrection. It may take three days, three years, three decades, or even three centuries, but it never, never fails to come.

The plundering, silk-hatted mob of America that went out to loot a Nation may yet live to see the day when he whom they thought safely buried under all their vile slander and calumny will be the respected leader of the greatest Republic of modern times. Stranger things than this have happened in the memory of men now living.

And I am satisfied that in the history books which our children and their children will read, LA FOLLETTE will be accorded his place as the real leader

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in the political life of our Nation in the first quarter of this century.

He saw the light, and he dared follow, not counting the cost. I think of him when I recall the words in Lowell's poem:

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;  
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,  
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,  
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

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Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust.  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just.  
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside.  
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified.  
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.  
Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes—they were souls that stood alone,  
While the men they agonized for hurled the contumelious stone,  
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline  
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,  
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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For Humanity sweeps onward; where to-day the martyr stands,  
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;  
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,  
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return  
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.

LA FOLLETTE on more than one occasion referred to the mounting corruption in government as a "cancer." And inevitably it brought to my mind the picture of a great surgeon. He labored to cure that cancer, to remove it from the body politic. He knew that no quack remedy, with its soothing plasters and opiates, could cure; he knew that he must employ the methods of the reputable surgeon, adopt drastic measures, use the knife, even though it might smart and pain.

And so he seemed severe, so often, in his language and methods. But if he spoke in the language of the twenty-third chapter of Matthew rather than in the language of the Beatitudes, if he came in the spirit of Elijah and Amos rather than in that of the Beloved Disciple, let us never forget that the conditions which confronted those prophets of old were child's play in comparison with the decay and corruption that surrounded this Elijah of the present age.

He used neither the manners nor the vestments of the courtier. He deemed it no part of his life's mission to produce sweet music on harp or lute; his part was to rouse a nation, and this he did with a trumpet which gave no uncertain sound.

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He knew history well enough to know that he would reap the reward common to all benefactors of mankind since the dawn of civilization. But, steadfastly, unswervingly he pursued his course to the end. And generations yet unborn will rise up and call him blessed.

True, indeed, are the words of the poem from which I have already quoted:

Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne—  
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,  
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above  
His own.

We burn our Jeanne d'Arcs at the stake; and our grandchildren elevate them to sainthood. We stone our prophets and kill them; and coming generations venerate them and hold their memory a sacred and hallowed thing. We spit upon the saviors of mankind, we persecute and crucify them; and succeeding centuries bow down and worship them.

So we say to-day:

ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE is dead. ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE still lives.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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*Address by Representative Berger  
Of Wisconsin*

MR. SPEAKER, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: I shall speak of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE from the viewpoint of a Socialist, of a Wisconsin Socialist, and of a man who for more than a quarter of a century was the spokesman of an organized opposition to some of his policies. We opposed him not because we deemed him too radical, but because to the minds of the Socialists these policies were inadequate, half-way measures. But though we opposed him often, I will say in justice to him that he was the most powerful and constructive champion of real democracy the Republican Party has produced since the days of Abraham Lincoln. He undoubtedly was the most forceful, most fearless, and probably also the most influential exponent of progressive thought in the United States Senate.

There was a no more aggressive and efficient fighter against every kind of corruption in the Congress of the United States in this generation than ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. It was LA FOLLETTE who uncovered the conspiracy to get possession of Teapot Dome and of the California naval oil reserves, although other men received a good deal of the credit for it later on. And he made that fight, at first, single handed.

While it was my good fortune to know ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE for a long time, we never got near enough to become really intimate. However, we

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were intimate enough for me to become acquainted with his beautiful family life. The Senator was so fortunate in getting a mate of exceptionally fine qualities and of having unusually bright children. He was very much devoted to all of them.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE proved to be a great leader in many respects. He was one of the foremost defenders of the people's rights against the railroad corporations and greedy capitalists in general.

At no time, however, did his star shine brighter than during the World War. No other Senator or Member of the House of Representatives of that period can show a record equal to his, and he rightfully declared at a meeting held in Milwaukee in answer to a question that he would not exchange his war record with that of any other Senator or Congressman in the United States.

In matters of labor legislation and in legislation for the welfare of the farmers, which, in these cases, means legislation for the betterment of the human race, no other statesman in this period has achieved as much as he did. And there is also this to be said, that not one of the laws passed through his efforts was ever declared unconstitutional.

It is due to ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE and to the spirit which LA FOLLETTE aroused that a number of these measures, most of which were socialistic in their origin, took shape and form and were enacted into law.

Thus, for instance, Wisconsin was one of the States which had a system for the direct election

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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of United States Senators by the people before the adoption of the sixteenth amendment. It was the first State to provide for the nomination at the primary of candidates for the United States Senate.

Wisconsin was among the first States to have an effective antipass law. Before the passage of that law the railroads used to give passes to members of the legislature and influential politicians in order to make them subservient to their wishes.

Wisconsin was one of the first States to require lobbyists to register and to file statements of their fees and expenses.

Wisconsin was the first State to forbid the use of the lobbies of the legislative chambers to lobbyists, and compelled them to confine their activities to appearances before committees.

Wisconsin was one of the first States that passed a civil service law, and even to-day the Wisconsin law is the most complete and comprehensive.

Wisconsin passed the first compulsory part-time school law in 1911. And we still have the best vocational schools in the country.

The first university extension courses on the English model were organized by the Universities of Chicago and Wisconsin, and Wisconsin is still the leader in that field.

Wisconsin was among the very first to organize an agricultural college in connection with the State university, and also one of the first to organize an agricultural experiment station. Wisconsin established the first short course in agriculture, and organized the first dairy school.

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Wisconsin was also the first State to organize agricultural high schools.

Agitation for an income tax began in Wisconsin in 1903, and a constitutional amendment providing such a tax was adopted in 1908.

Wisconsin was the first State to make the income tax a practical working measure and a source of real revenue. Since then many States have followed Wisconsin's example.

Wisconsin's ad valorem railroad law was not the first of its kind. Authorities agree, however, that the Wisconsin ad valore method is the best example of taxing railroad property.

Wisconsin and Pennsylvania were the first States in which the tuberculin test was used. It was made compulsory in Wisconsin in 1911.

Wisconsin was one of the first States to enact legislation for the protection of the dairy interests.

Wisconsin enacted a pure food law as early as 1897.

The industrial commission act of 1911 was the first law in the United States which centralized all labor laws in a single department.

While safety laws and factory inspection did not originate in Wisconsin, Wisconsin was the first State, nevertheless, to adopt the modern type of safety legislation, to compel employers to furnish a safe place of employment.

And while Wisconsin was not the first State to enact a child labor law, to-day it is as advanced as any State in the Union, and has the best enforced law in the country.

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Wisconsin was one of the first States which enacted workmen's compensation laws, and the Wisconsin law was the first to become effective. It is still regarded as the model law of that type.

Wisconsin was the first State that made it compulsory for employers under the compensation act to insure their risk, unless exempted from doing so by order of the industrial commission. This has been copied since by a number of other States.

Wisconsin is the only State in the Union which has made an attempt to restore apprenticeship in industry. Wisconsin's experiment has attracted wide attention, and has been commended by both employers and employees. A parliamentary committee in New South Wales, Australia, recommended the enactment of an apprenticeship law on the Wisconsin model.

Wisconsin is the only State in the Union which has prohibited all night work for women in factories and laundries.

Wisconsin was also one of the first three States which enacted a mandatory minimum wage law.

Wisconsin was one of the first three States that enacted full crew laws for railroads.

All of these, and many other measures, became law through the influence of LA FOLLETTE and La Folletteism, while they were, of course, backed up by organized labor, the progressive farmers' movement, and the Socialist Party. However, there can be no doubt that without the spirit aroused by LA FOLLETTE most of these measures would never have been enacted into law.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE had a wonderfully magnetic personality, and I will say that he was the only man in Wisconsin who accomplished the hard feat of cutting deep into the Socialist vote whenever he was on the ticket and whenever we had a man up against him. On the other hand, he told me frankly more than once that for his real progressive measures he could always bank much more on the Socialists in the legislature than on his own men. And I considered this a great compliment to our Socialists.

When LA FOLLETTE decided to quit both old capitalist parties and to lead a third party movement, the Socialists of the Nation indorsed his candidacy—after the Socialists of the State of Wisconsin had silently indorsed him for Senator by not putting up a candidate against him. That 5,000,000 men and women, regardless of former political affiliations, cast their ballot for him in the 1924 election, although outside of the Socialist Party, which was not organized in every State, the progressives had no political organization of any kind—showed what a wonderful grip ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE had on the imagination of the common people.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was a man of great industry, exceptional ability, honest motives, and had an unusually high sense of public duty. The world is better because he had lived.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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*Address by Representative Sinclair  
Of North Dakota*

Mr. SPEAKER: It was my pleasure to meet the late Senator LA FOLLETTE for the first time when he was at the height of his physical and mental powers. I remember that he was scheduled to speak at Fargo, N. Dak., about 20 years ago, and I made a journey of over a hundred miles to hear him. I had already read a great deal about him in the newspapers and elsewhere. He had won my sympathy and admiration in the great fight he had made, almost single handed, against the political bosses in his own State. His victory over the corrupt railroad and business interests there was fresh in the public mind. Never before, nor since, have I heard such a remarkable speech as was delivered that evening. For over four hours Senator LA FOLLETTE held his large audience entranced and delighted, until finally he had to stop speaking in order to catch his train. That speech had a wonderful influence on the political and economic thought of my State.

From that time I watched the Senator's public career with growing interest. I read the first issue of his magazine and continued to read it thereafter. It was the medium through which he spoke to the people of his State and Nation. In its pages he told the everyday folks, whom he loved and who loved him, of the battles he was waging in their behalf. A gigantic struggle was going on then, as

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now, for the control of this Government. For the last half century the fight has waged between the forces of special privilege and corrupt wealth on the one hand and the masses of the people on the other. Seekers of special favors from the Government boldly pursued their ends in years gone by, protected by political pull. Against these forces ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE waged unrelenting war. He aroused the people of the Nation to their danger, that there must be eternal vigilance on the part of their servants in public life if this Government is to maintain its proud independence and not change into a plutocracy. We have narrowly escaped that fate on several occasions in the past generation.

Senator LA FOLLETTE was ever the champion of the rights of the people. He was on guard for them every day of his life, and every hour of each day. His voice was always heard in their behalf, and his vote always cast for their best interests. Neither fear of consequences nor promise of personal advancement silenced him or caused him to deviate a hair's breadth from the straight path of service to his country which he had marked out for himself. With his great talents, no one can doubt but that he might easily have won for himself a leading place among those whom we call rich and influential. He chose the harder course, the fight for a cleaner and better Government, and a more just representation of the rights of the people.

As Governor of Wisconsin he made that State a model Commonwealth. The laws which he cham-

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pioned there and which were adopted have served as models for other States. By reason of legislation which he fostered his State to-day enjoys a greater measure of prosperity than do many others. When he came to Washington he enlarged the field of his endeavors to a national scope. The Nation is indebted to him for many a measure which, when first presented, was regarded as too advanced, but which afterwards became the law of the land, its worth proved beyond a doubt. Senator LA FOLLETTE had vision beyond that of most legislators. He seemed to be able to divine the future needs of the people and, having determined upon a plan of action for their relief or protection, he was untiring in its accomplishment.

True to his ideals, loyal to the cause of the workers of our country, sincerely in earnest in all he did, he commanded the respect and esteem of even his most bitter opponents.

It was my privilege to know Senator LA FOLLETTE as a friend after I came to Washington. His was a most gracious personality; simple and kindly in manner, he enjoyed the company and conversation of friends about him, throwing off for the time the weighty cares pressing upon him. Always approachable, he gave freely of his vast store of knowledge and experience.

Senator LA FOLLETTE was one of the truly great of this world. The story of his life and achievements will be told in the pages of history, and will shine the more brightly with each succeeding year. As one who respected, admired, and loved him, I deem it an honor to offer this small tribute to his memory.

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**Address by Representative Schleser  
Of Wisconsin**

**Mr. SPEAKER:** We meet to-day to honor the memory of the outstanding man in public life of his generation, ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE. He has passed on, but the record of his unselfish service to the people of the Nation is indelibly written into the statutes and history of the Republic. His many years of public service were devoted to making the Government an instrumentality functioning for the people and by the people. He was an uncompromising foe of corruption and intrenched predatory and monopolistic interests which desired to control and exploit the Government and the people.

In my judgment, the outstanding event in the public service of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was his courageous stand in the dark days preceding America's entrance into the late World War. In the summer of 1914 the World War began. Senator LA FOLLETTE bended every effort toward preventing America from being drawn into this war. On February 8, 1915, he introduced a resolution for a conference of neutral nations with a view to securing an early cessation of hostilities amongst the European nations then at war and to arrange for limitation of armament and the promotion of world peace. He was convinced that America should not enter the conflict, and with dauntless courage he did not sacrifice these convictions, but

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made every effort under his constitutional right to oppose America's entrance into the war. If he had been a weakling, no doubt the storm of indignation and persecution which he knew would break upon him in those dark days would have caused him to pursue a different course.

After America had entered the war, however, Senator LA FOLLETTE energetically strove to promote its successful conclusion in the highest degree compatible with the preservation of fundamental American liberties. He conducted a great fight to enact tax legislation to make the profiteers pay their fair share of the financial burden of the war. Strongly intrenched monopoly and predatory interests hoped to drive their uncompromising foe into political oblivion during the dark days of the war. False and libelous propaganda in the press and elsewhere sought to brand Senator LA FOLLETTE as a traitor and to drive him from the public service. Although abused and vilified, the spirit of this great man could not be broken, and he courageously continued to stand for the things that he believed to be right. He had faith in the people of Wisconsin and knew that once they were informed of the truth they would stand by him.

In 1922 the sovereign voters of the great State of Wisconsin overwhelmingly vindicated Senator LA FOLLETTE. He was returned to the Senate with a majority of 301,000, the largest ever given any candidate in our State. The war-time persecution did not shake the faith of the people of Wisconsin in their sturdy champion. The National Home at

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Milwaukee, in which are cared for disabled veterans of the Nation's wars, practically unanimously voted for the Senator.

The late Senator's heart, now stilled in death, had been filled with the noblest purposes and the highest aims. With the last throb of life he kept the faith. He carried the torch of truth, righteousness, and free representative government for many years. His monumental record of public service and high ideals will ever be an inspiration to the liberty-loving people of America. He has gone, but will never be forgotten, and will take his place in our Nation's history with George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln.

Address by Representative Lampert  
*Of Wisconsin*

Mr. SPEAKER: ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, whose life and services we are met to-day to honor, had a remarkably extensive and distinguished life. Born in 1855 and passing into the Great Beyond in 1925, the span of his life was 70 years. Too young to have any part in the Civil War, his developing intellect met, while a student in college, most of those welfare problems that rose out of the Civil War itself or out of the changed economic and social life of the postwar period. Young LA FOLLETTE "earned his way" as a student and graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1879. While a student he was a college debater and orator of great prominence and promise. In 1880 he was admitted to the bar. In that very year young LA FOLLETTE, at the age of 25, was elected district attorney. He made a remarkable record and ran far ahead of his ticket when reelected for a second term. In 1884, at the age of 29, he was elected to Congress and twice reelected. Despite his comparative youth, he was given a place on the Ways and Means Committee and had an important part in the framing of the famous McKinley tariff bill. Defeated for Congress in 1890, by a Democratic landslide, which was precipitated in Wisconsin by the passage of a parochial school law, LA FOLLETTE turned for 10 years to the practice of law and to an extensive study of economic and political conditions in Wisconsin. In 1900, 1902,

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and 1904 LA FOLLETTE was elected Governor of Wisconsin. In 1905 he was elected United States Senator by the Wisconsin Legislature. Taking his seat in 1906, LA FOLLETTE was returned to the Senate and died while serving his nineteenth consecutive year as a member of that body.

This brief outline of LA FOLLETTE's life is impressive because in the annals of our country's history there are few with which it can be compared. Of sound but not distinguished Huguenot stock that had been joined by marriage to the Scotch, LA FOLLETTE can not be explained or understood solely in terms of his ancestry. We can well imagine that his emotional intensity came from the French strain in him and that his keen intuitions regarding entrenched wrong were due to the Scotch blood in his veins. From the teaching and influence of his mother, young LA FOLLETTE derived many of the traits that marked his later life. We can well consider his life under three headings—assimilation, protest, construction.

### ASSIMILATION

LA FOLLETTE had an exceptionally keen, comprehensive, and powerful intellect. His memory retained what had been intellectually achieved. He did not have to go back over what he had once done. Bacon says that reading maketh a full man, writing an exact man, and public address a ready man. LA FOLLETTE was an omnivorous reader. He always wrote a great deal, thus making his knowledge exact. Then, too, from his early college days, he was given to public address. Thus

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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he was widely and exactly informed on all matters in which he was interested and upon which he spoke. Herein lies one part of the secret of the respect accorded him by his bitterest opponents.

Suddenly, at the age of 25 and with no experience as a practitioner of the law, he found himself elected to the office of district attorney. His duty was to prosecute, in the name of the State, those who violated the law. He learned the routine of it very quickly and succeeded so well in this, his first public responsibility, that he was sent to Congress for six years. His abilities were recognized by his associates, he was given recognition, and he worked faithfully in the party harness. Young LA FOLLETTE's active intellect reacted to the opportunities which Congress and Washington afforded. He delved deeply into everything that interested or concerned him. LA FOLLETTE worked hard and loved it. His keen and powerful intellect could not be idle.

Young LA FOLLETTE began to question the equity and justice of many of the then current procedures and ways of doing things. As a boy he had been stirred by those immortal lines:

Right forever on the scaffold,  
Wrong forever on the throne.

And LA FOLLETTE knew that he must make a decision as to where he would stand.

Suddenly, he found himself defeated for Congress in 1890. That defeat opened, for him, a great opportunity. He could go back to Madison and study some of these social procedures in his home State. Study them he did for 10 years, and then

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he entered the field of practical politics again with a program.

### PROTEST

The year 1900 and his election to the Governorship of Wisconsin marks the beginning of LA FOLLETTE's open and public protest. He stumped the State of Wisconsin declaring that certain injustices that existed under the sanction of law or just outside its pale should be righted by legislation. In particular LA FOLLETTE assaulted the railroads and their allied interests. He favored the taxation of railroad property on an equality with other taxable property, opposed rebating in all its forms, and declared for a State railroad commission to regulate railroads in the public interest. The legislature of 1901 failed to enact the necessary legislation. Again LA FOLLETTE stumped the State, and the legislature of 1903 enacted the ad valorem railroad tax and a primary election law. Again LA FOLLETTE stumped the State before he secured a commission to regulate the railroads in the interest of the public.

It was during the years we have just been considering that LA FOLLETTE was knighted "Fighting Bob." He deserved the title, for he fought so strenuously against certain entrenched wrongs that he set the whole State to thinking as it had never thought before. He preached the gospel of the common good, of the State as a servant of the enlightened judgment of the people for the attainment of the common good, and of education as the only sure means of securing an enlightened judgment. He felt that the University of Wisconsin

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should serve the State as it had never done before, and, without dictating at all as to its officials or internal policies, secured for it the funds in terms of which an increased State service could be rendered.

Taking his seat in the United States Senate in 1906, at the age of 51, he was a seasoned and skilled fighter. What many folks never saw or knew at all was the fundamental idealism that dominated his life. He might have "gone along" and found preferment, but he chose to champion causes that were neglected. With pitiless fact and unrelenting argument he assaulted the status quo in favor of—

1. The seamen's act.
2. The Federal employees' liability act.
3. The eight-hour day for all Federal employees.
4. The nonissuance of injunctions in labor disputes.
5. The creation of a tariff commission.
6. The parcel post.
7. The physical valuation of railroad property.
8. The Alaska Railroad.
9. Increased powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission.
10. The suspension of proposed increases in interstate rates when objection has been made by shipper or consumer until the Interstate Commerce Commission decided the case on its merits.
11. The regulation of telephone and telegraph rates.
12. The creation of a department of labor.
13. A Federal income tax.
14. A Federal inheritance tax.
15. The election of Senators by direct vote of the people.
16. Publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures.
17. Woman suffrage.

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The preceding are only a part of the remedial things which LA FOLLETTE fought for. Always his argument was against the injustices of an existing or proposed way of carrying on human affairs. He wanted justice to prevail, and injustice always brought forth his protest. He backed up his protests with fact and argument so that he well deserved the affectionately bestowed, though not always affectionately used, title of "Fighting Bob." But ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was more than a protest. He was constructive, and he had a coherent, consistent view of what human government should be and do.

### CONSTRUCTIVE

LA FOLLETTE believed in the Declaration of Independence with devotion. Governments are instituted to secure certain ends, chief among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed. The people constitute the ultimate sovereignty. Those who would serve the people as public officials are responsible for informing, and thereby forming, the public mind. The public must be kept informed. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE considered it his public duty to keep his constituents informed on public matters. Probably no American statesman has approached LA FOLLETTE's record in this matter. The public press was sometimes too partisan, and so LA FOLLETTE established his own magazine through which he could talk to his people. Against the policy of partisan political bartering he set his face, but he also had a constructive attitude and lived up to it.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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The idealism of LA FOLLETTE'S youth was never given up, but it was tempered by experience. The dream of his life was to have government in this country conceived and administered in terms of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. He knew full well that the Constitution was but a human instrument for carrying out through government the ideals of the Declaration. Full well he knew the compromises that are found in the Constitution. To him the Constitution was, as the instrument itself declares, subject to amendment. He believed that—

New occasions teach new duties,  
Time makes ancient good uncouth;  
They must ever up and onward  
Who would keep abreast of truth.

Experience soon taught him that "Heaven is not reached by a single bound." He learned to attack an existing injustice at its weakest point. Again and again he would assault before proposing the remedy he had in mind. It was part of his strategy, but he always had a constructive proposal for every existing injustice and every social maladjustment. He knew full well that he could not secure all of his proposals at once. It is reliably reported that 11 of the 13 planks submitted by him to the Republican National Convention in 1908 and 15 of the 18 planks similarly submitted in 1912 have been written into law. He kept everlastingly at it. Assault and proposal—assault and proposal—this was his constructive plan. He firmly believed that if his proposals were sound

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and valid they would be adopted if and when the public knew the facts.

LA FOLLETTE had faith in ideals and the good sense of the common man. He had little use for "blocks of ten" and other political paraphernalia. He believed firmly in facts and argument, and decided many of the political procedures of his party. Time came in Wisconsin when question was raised as to whether LA FOLLETTE was really a Republican. That never bothered him, because he was so certain in his own mind that he was working for the interests of the whole people. Time came in 1924 when he stepped outside the ranks of the Republican Party and allowed his name to be used as a candidate for the Presidency on an independent ticket. This act was more than a protest—it was a constructive move to furnish a rallying center for those who thought as he did.

It may be profitable to consider briefly what manner of man ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE really was.

He was kind and considerate. He knew and loved men and women in all walks of life. He was democratic in his personal dealings with men. He was sincere and loved sincerity. An uncompromising fighter on the floor of the Senate, he nevertheless retained the affection and respect of his colleagues.

LA FOLLETTE was not, in any sense, an opportunist for himself. In fact he thought little of himself and of his own preferment. His devotion was to causes and not to honors for himself or his friends.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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True it is that a part of his following was personal to the extent of being for whatever LA FOLLETTE proposed, but that misfortune is the lot of every powerful man in public life, and was regretted by LA FOLLETTE as it is by every right-thinking man. LA FOLLETTE stumped the State of Wisconsin again and again when election would have been inevitable had he made no campaign at all, but LA FOLLETTE felt that his responsibility to the cause of democratic government demanded that he expound his convictions to the people. This devotion to his sense of duty probably shortened his life by years, but remonstrances of family and friends were unavailing.

In the course of his life from 1900 to his death LA FOLLETTE saw many of his supporters and friends desert him and his proposals, but he never showed or felt any bitterness over these differences in judgment. He regretted these defections, but he thought it vastly more important that men and women should think and act for themselves than that they should support him. At times LA FOLLETTE stood practically alone, but at such times, without arrogance or egotism, he stood squarely and firmly for what he thought was right.

In his 43 years as a public servant, dealing as he did with a great variety of extremely complex problems for the solution of which there was no precedent and involved in which were sometimes great financial and moral issues, it is not to be wondered that he made some decisions that now, in the light of experience, seem to people to have

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been mistakes of judgment. Bitterly assailed and often misrepresented, LA FOLLETTE kept the even tenor of his way, undisturbed alike by misrepresentation and calumny. Kindly, modest, courageous, and strong, he kept faith with himself and with his ideals of what should obtain in our public life.

Despite the strenuous conflicts through which he passed in his long political career, ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE's name was without a stain. No taint of self-seeking, no hint of crookedness, no charge of "turncoat" has ever been uttered against him by his bitterest political enemies. Tolerant and broad-minded, he had among his personal friends many who did not agree with him. This personal element was not a policy with him—it was the spontaneous expression of his fundamental human quality.

And now he sleeps in the soil of the State in which he was born. The struggle and the conflict are over for him. He has gone to his reward. Let us write his faults upon the sand and his virtues on the tablets of our memory.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in my remarks a resolution adopted by the Railroad Brotherhood of Wisconsin.

### IN MEMORIAM

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE was born on a farm in Dane County, Wis., June 14, 1855, and died June 18, 1925, at Washington, D. C., while representing his native State in the United States Senate.

He devoted his whole life to the principle that "the will of the people is the law of the land."

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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At the beginning, when but a boy, as district attorney of Dane County, from 1881 to 1885, he challenged the right of bossism in public affairs; and later, in the House of Representatives at Washington, from 1885 to 1891, he fought special privilege in the Nation.

As governor of his State, from 1900 to 1905, he worked constantly to put the people in supreme control of the State government for the common good of all; and succeeded so well that his methods, in the main, were adopted by many other States and are being gradually adopted by the Nation as it labors to fulfill the Declaration of Independence.

As United States Senator from 1905 to the time of his death, he was uncompromising in the cause and welfare of those that labor by land and sea; and, so far as he was able, he gave them by national law a new hope in the pursuit of happiness.

He was a man faithful to everything that he advocated. His way was simple and his words were plain and clear. He could not be, and he never was, misunderstood in either speech or purpose; and in neither of which he could be led to compromise; for he had dedicated his life to the nation-old proclamation that all men are created equal, and are endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure these rights our Government was established.

Senator LA FOLLETTE's life was a whole truth, and it will live on and be an inspiration and guide to a Nation of free and toiling people; and he takes to the grave our love for him which has sustained us during his life, and will enlist us in the future to give the best that is in us to the cause of human rights and true democracy; and be it

*Resolved by this biennial meeting of the Joint Cooperative Legislative Board of the Railroad Transportation Brotherhoods of the State of Wisconsin, at Milwaukee, Wis., on this 18th day of December, 1926, That at his death we respectfully express our appreciation of his lifelong struggle for the cause of human rights and true democracy; and that we will follow on, as best we can,*

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to do the work that he "still could do"; and that this memoriam be placed upon our permanent record, and a copy sent to the members of his family and to the chief executives of our respective organizations.

By—

THE JOINT COOPERATIVE LEGISLATIVE BOARD OF THE  
FOUR TRANSPORTATION BROTHERHOODS OF WISCONSIN.

THOS. P. HAYDEN, *Chairman.*

GEO. W. M. CASE, *Vice Chairman.*

J. J. MURPHEY, *Secretary.*

HENRY MAHONEY, *Counsel.*

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Voigt  
Of Wisconsin**

Mr. SPEAKER: Senator LA FOLLETTE was Wisconsin's greatest son, and history will rank him among the outstanding great men of this Nation. What constitutes a great man? A man may be a great poet, a great artist, a great judge, a great statesman, a great ruler. Such men may differ widely in their accomplishments, but according to my conception of greatness, they have this in common: That each is great in proportion to the benefits he has conferred on his fellow men. I have thought that it might be interesting and instructive for me to attempt to set forth those elements in Mr. LA FOLLETTE's being which made him great and to show how those elements irresistibly found expression in his life's work.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE was endowed by nature with an abounding love for his fellow men. Only those who were privileged to come into personal contact with him can know what a great, tender heart beat in his bosom. He resented injury and wrong, and was ever ready to enter the lists to fight the battles of the weak and the oppressed.

He was favored with an intellect of the first magnitude. He had that most rare of all mental gifts, the ability to reason straight and independently. His mind operated with lightning-like rapidity, and it was easy for him to distinguish between sham and truth, right and wrong.

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He had the power of imagination which is necessary in the make-up of the great public speaker and orator that he was.

He possessed greater moral courage than any man of his time. There was no limit to his will power in standing by his convictions after he concluded that he was right. When he felt he was right, he was as willing to stand alone as with the multitude. The words "compromise" and "surrender" were not in his vocabulary, and his courage compelled the admiration of even his bitterest enemies.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE was a man of unusual physical vigor, and his physique and indescribable personality, coupled with his mental equipment, stamped him at once as a peerless debater, orator, and leader of men.

Added to these natural qualities was a splendid training in literature, history, oratory, economics, and law.

It was no accident that LA FOLLETTE took up a public career. I do not believe that he could have changed the course of his life if he had resolved to do it, nor do I believe that anyone else could have influenced him to change it. He was destined to be the gladiator to fight the political and economic battles of his fellow men.

In what manner were the superb intellect, the indomitable courage, the passion for righteousness, the boundless energy of this man to find expression? Was he to become the servant of others? Was he to subordinate his will to that of others? Was he to become a public man known as a

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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politician? Was he to be a weak, shifty, characterless representative of the people as executive and in legislative halls, responsive to the demands of those seeking to control government for their own interests?

If I have analyzed LA FOLLETTE correctly, it is at once apparent that such a course for him was impossible. This man towered above those around him, and every fiber in him demanded that he devote himself to a cause worthy of his great ability. If those who abused and vilified this man and tried to bend him to their wills could only have had a partial conception of his qualities, what an immense amount of energy they could have saved!

Mr. LA FOLLETTE, by reason of his study of history and economics, clearly saw that since the dawn of time there had been a struggle in this world between the oppressed and the oppressor, and that that struggle took the form of the appropriation of one man's labor by another; that this struggle was concealed under many different forms, but that in essence it remained the same. He also saw clearly that all political questions have an economic background, and that when these economic questions appear in the political arena they present the age-old struggle to which I have referred. He therefore resolved, early in his career, to fight for the economic equality of his fellow men. That, as I see it, is the fundamental and ever-present thought and motive in Mr. LA FOLLETTE's entire career. In his conception, of course, there could be no economic equality without political equality, and neither could be

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obtained without absolute honesty in the affairs of government. He fought for those measures which were consistent with his primary idea, and attacked those which were out of harmony with it. If we apply the above principles to any political questions whatever, we can account for the stand which Mr. LA FOLLETTE took with reference to them, and we can form a very accurate judgment as to where he would stand to-day on any question, if living.

Our deceased leader was an ardent advocate of the right of free speech, and his utterances on that subject will be referred to as long as our Government stands. He contended that the Constitution guarantees this right in time of war as well as in time of peace, and that whoever robs the citizen of it can rob him of any other rights, because he is powerless to protest.

There is one phase of the Senator's life that I do not think has been sufficiently stressed by his admirers, and that is his own spotless integrity, and his demand for honesty in Government officials. He saw that good laws were of no avail if administered by corrupt officials, and he demanded absolute honesty from officials while Governor of Wisconsin, and as a consequence we have as clean, if not the cleanest, government in our State as there is in the Union. We do not know in Wisconsin what graft and corruption in public office are. As governor he secured the passage of laws abolishing railroad passes, compelling lobbyists to register, and limiting their activities to appearances before committees, providing for the publication of campaign expenses, and specifying the

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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purposes for which they could be incurred, prohibiting rebates by railroads, and giving us the direct primary. All these laws curbed corruption in public life.

Wisconsin has the proud distinction of having passed, while LA FOLLETTE was governor, the first workmen's compensation law in the United States, which has been copied in nearly every other State. We long ago did away with the corrupt and boss-controlled convention system by letting the people choose their own candidates.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE was frequently called a visionary, a radical, and less complimentary names. It is a fact, nevertheless, that he never advocated any measure except after the most painstaking investigation, and Wisconsin has long been the Mecca of people from all over the world who are in search of advanced ideas in government. In his long career he never advocated a measure which subsequently proved to be economically wrong. He has more constructive legislation to his credit than any other man of his generation. Let me refer to some of the measures he has put through, or helped put through—

Constitutional amendment for direct election of United States Senators;

Regulation and proper taxation of railroads in Wisconsin;

Government valuation of railroads;

Regulation of telegraph and telephone rates;

Eight hour law for Government employees;

Parcel post;

Federal income tax;

Federal inheritance tax;

The Tariff Commission;

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Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes;  
Laws against child labor;  
The seaman's act;  
Taxation of war profits;  
Protection of employees in industry;  
Killing of water, oil, and coal grabs;  
Defeat of League of Nations;  
Investigation of Teapot Dome scandal.

I like to hear Senator LA FOLLETTE or any other man in public life called a radical. To me it is a mark of distinction. No man in history ever accomplished anything for his fellow men who was not called this or a worse name. The man who discovered that the earth is round and the man who discovered the circulation of the blood were denounced as dangerous radicals. Washington and Lincoln were so called. The legislator who entertains no idea for which some one is not denouncing him might as well stay at home. We can say of LA FOLLETTE, as was said of Grover Cleveland, "We love him for the enemies he has made."

Our great progressive leader is no more, but his work lives after him. He has made the world a better place to live in. We can best honor him by doing our share to carry on the fight which he led. In spite of the storms of libel and slander hurled at him in his day, his place in history is secure. He will be recognized not only as Wisconsin's most illustrious son but as the greatest champion of the rights of the common people since the time of Lincoln.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to append to my own address an extract from a eulogy on LA FOLLETTE

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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delivered last fall by my successor in the House, Congressman-elect Charles A. Kading, of Water-town, Wis. Mr. Kading's words are as follows:

In the death of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE Wisconsin lost its most distinguished citizen and Senator, and the Nation lost a great statesman. While still a young man he began to advocate progressive ideas and progressive legislation in the interest of the great mass of the common people of his native State. His ideas were at first branded as socialistic, impractical, and radical by the politicians. The soundness of his position, however, impressed the people and he was finally elected to the office of Governor of the State of Wisconsin, and it was during his three terms as Governor of Wisconsin that his progressive ideas were embodied into laws. Neighboring States have since followed Wisconsin in adopting similar laws, and the soundness of such progressive legislation is now quite generally accepted as being sound and satisfactory and as for the best interests of the people.

Before his third term as governor had expired he was elected to the office of United States Senator from Wisconsin. He entered upon the duties of such high office, but insisted that he would first complete his third term as Governor of Wisconsin.

In the United States Senate he immediately began to advocate national progressive legislation in the interest of the people of the Nation, at first being practically alone in this great movement. His ideas were again ridiculed, but step by step, law after law was passed in the interest of the people because of the position of Senator LA FOLLETTE. His position was sound, and both parties from time to time embodied his ideas in their platforms. Among the many instances that might be enumerated I desire to mention only one, which resulted in amending our Constitution, so that now United States Senators are elected by a direct vote of the people. In the United States Senate LA FOLLETTE gradually gained strength and at the time of his death there were and now are a great many Senators and Representatives in Congress who were

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working with him and now are working hard to continue the good work of Senator LA FOLLETTE.

The position of Senator LA FOLLETTE upon progressive legislation while in the Senate gradually became known throughout the Nation, with the result that a demand was made upon him to become a Progressive candidate for the office of President of the United States in the presidential election of 1924. On account of the nature of the statutes of the various States it was impossible for him to obtain a position on the official ballot in many States, and in those States where it was possible for him to obtain a place on the ballot it was necessary to run as a candidate for that office in the independent column; but in spite of these many disadvantages, over 5,000,000 of voters voted for him for President of the United States.

Senator LA FOLLETTE in commenting upon the result of such campaign among other matters said:

"The priceless heritage of our free institutions is not to be yielded up because one battle with the enemy of progressive democracy has been lost. Our ancestors did not surrender in the face of the hardship and suffering of seven long and discouraging years. The hosts of freedom did not despair in the dark hours of the sixties, when human liberty and the Union were at stake.

"The Progressives will close ranks for the next battle. We are enlisted for life in the struggle to bring government back to the people. We will not quit and we will not compromise. Five million strong, we are determined to break the power of the private-monopoly system. Without money and with little organization, we have shaken the mighty in their seats. We have two years in which to rally and consolidate our forces, perfect every detail of organization, and be fully prepared to face and overthrow the enemy of free government.

"Our task is great, but our cause is greater.

"Forward, Progressives, for the campaign of 1926!"

It is my belief that the position of this great, progressive leader was sound and that the good work so firmly begun by him should be continued and all who believe in such cause may find strength and encouragement in the hope and determination so well by him expressed.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Huddleston  
Of Alabama**

MR. SPEAKER: In the passing of Senator LA FOLLETTE average men and women lost the best friend they have ever had in Washington. Others have been brave, others have been able, others have been sympathetic and devoted, but no man who has come to the public service in Washington within the history of the Republic has combined all these qualities in such a liberal measure as did Senator LA FOLLETTE.

Senator LA FOLLETTE was by temperament a battler. Down through the centuries there had descended upon him the soul of the berserker. He neither asked nor gave quarter in an encounter. When he fought for a cause nothing could give him pause, but, with all that, there was in him the deepest tenderness and affection for his friends and those he loved. Crusader though he was, when an enemy was vanquished he was ready to succor and to forget. He bore no malice. He was a philosopher, and all his actions were guided by high principle. His was not the philosophy that the world advances through its heroes. He did not believe that the masses exist merely as a vehicle upon which the great may ride to make their way in history. To the contrary, he felt that the progress of mankind was through average men and women. That which would advance the cause of the masses to him was right; that which would

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retard their development and their progress or which made for privilege and for selfishness to him was wrong. These rights and wrongs were moral rights and wrongs. To advance the cause of the people or to oppose their oppressors were great moral causes, to serve which he felt that he might worthily give his life if need be.

He was a philosopher, but was no mere doctrinaire. He recognized that frequently he dealt with faulty materials and that he lived in the now, and that his means must be adapted to the end. He did not compromise, but he made the best of existing conditions. He never surrendered his principles, but he did not always insist on that which is the ultimate.

Idealistic to a high degree, yet he had a side which was intensely practical. This was wholly so in his public life. He was never satisfied to return from a battle in behalf of civic righteousness without bringing some spoil in his hands; he was never content not to bring back some substantial gains for the cause which he served, and even in defeat it was rare, indeed, that he came back from the contest without having forced the enemy to make some concession of value.

He was the idealist per se; he dreamed dreams; he saw visions. His was the soul of a poet. Under a different environment, perhaps, he might have found his place in literature rather than in civic life. Yet idealist though he was, he recognized facts and that it was not worth while to waste himself in hopeless efforts.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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My personal relations with Senator LA FOLLETTE were warm and tender. I felt for him a deep and a lasting affection. In his passing I felt the deepest sense of personal loss. It is with difficulty even now that I am able to say these few words.

Perhaps there may come to us who survive some value from an occasion like this. It is said that the sincerest compliment finds its expression in imitation, and so the sincerest veneration for the memory of a departing loved one is shown in added devotion to the things which that loved one served. If it be that the spirits of the departed may look down upon human things and have some recognition of what transpires here, I feel sure that our departed friend would find his greatest joy not in the words of praise which have been spoken nor in the tears which have been shed, but would find it in a new resolution coming on a day like this that we will "carry on"; that we will go on as brave soldiers in the cause which he served. I trust we may find here to-day a new inspiration, a new love for the people, and a new devotion to the cause of humanity which was so dear to the heart of him who has passed away.

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*Address by Representative Frear  
Of Wisconsin*

Mr. SPEAKER: The great Goethe, analyzing an outstanding figure of Shakespeare's notable characters, says of Hamlet:

The mean, the vulgar was offensive to him; and if hatred could take root in his soul it was only so far as to make him properly despise the false and changeful insects of the court and play with them in easy scorn.

LA FOLLETTE, scholar, orator, statesman, was first of all a student of men. He saw what Goethe discovered in Hamlet, for in his early life LA FOLLETTE's masterly analysis of the character of Hamlet aroused unstinted praise from America's foremost Shakespearian scholars. A profound student, a lover of truth, scorning deception or its handmaiden, fear, Wisconsin's favorite son entered political life, the Nation's great court, imbued with the same high resolve that actuated Hamlet, to be true to himself. To his chosen life's work he brought prodigious study, clear vision, helpful human sympathy, and a keen knowledge of injustice found in existing conditions, conditions unknown to medieval history. Shakespeare and Goethe lived when rivalries and ambitions of men, great and small, still played a conspicuous part on the actual and mimic stage.

Like motives live with men in every age, but LA FOLLETTE pointed out to his fellow man that grasping avarice coupled with unlimited financial

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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power and a control of the avenues of information are more to be feared in a democratic form of government than conflicting personal ambitions or all the warring hosts of the Old World that once wrote the pages of history.

This danger he sensed with all his being, and sought unceasingly to combat its insidious control of government. A crusader against the modern financial and industrial juggernauts that blunt the sensibilities of men, LA FOLLETTE raised his standard as bravely and boldly as did ever knight of old who laid down his life on field of battle.

His campaign, once started, was a persistent struggle for human welfare and became a lifelong protest against oppression of his brother man in every walk of life. Far in front of the vanguard he carried his banner of hope for the workman in the mines, on the farm, in the factories, on ship-board, on the rails, and in every other field of humble toil. Like Richard the Lion Hearted, he drew the enemy's thrusts toward himself, as he struck blow for blow. Supported by a vast army of trusting men and women who rallied under his colors, LA FOLLETTE never looked backward nor hesitated when the fight was on. He asked no quarter from the enemy, he gave none, yet withal his foeman, human oppression, was impersonal.

Grimly he said to those around him, "Hard fighting makes fast friends," and the millions of followers who implicitly believed in him vindicated the judgment of Wisconsin's great defender of human rights, for by hard contests he won their confidence and his own reward.

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A quarter of a century ago I was at times thrown in close contact with LA FOLLETTE, together with those whom he drafted to aid in his pioneer constructive work for Wisconsin. There he blazed the way for States and for the Nation to place government back in the hands of the people.

When calumny, abuse, and misrepresentation in recent times seemed to overwhelm him, with his tired face before me I once asked, "Is the strain all worth while?" He responded, "Whatever is right is worth while." That high purpose alone inspired him who in late years oft suffered keen mental and physical pain but bravely battled for his ideals to the last.

Showed with unbounded love and affection from those he served and a devotion more marked and widespread than fell to the lot of any other American living at the time of his death, his recompense was greater than all mere earthly honors.

I believe it may fairly be said his enduring work in State and National constructive legislation was unapproached by any man or group of men of his time.

Forcefully portraying existing evils and with unanswerable arguments his proposed remedies, he brought fellow legislators to his cause, even as at other times with inspiring oratory he swayed the multitude. Thus he will be remembered, this truly great man, of boundless sympathy and undaunted courage, a never-failing champion of the oppressed.

The voice that once led the way is silent. His bark has carried the tired soul to a distant shore

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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from whence none ever return. Midst the greatest throng ever gathered in the capital city of his home State, we laid to rest the weary body that for almost a half century was unselfishly devoted to humanity's cause.

No pretentious shaft marks that resting place, but the hearts of his people found a living memorial they have affectionately dedicated to the memory of their loved leader. In the seat long honored by an illustrious father they placed his gifted son there to carry on the cause so faithfully defended by him whom we honor to-day.

His work for human welfare will be borne by countless thousands during coming generations, but none will ever bring to that service greater personal powers, higher statesmanship, larger sacrifices, and more sincere love for those whom he faithfully served to the end than ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. Of him, truly it may be said—

The applause of list'ning senates to command,  
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,  
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,  
And read their history in a nation's eyes.

Mr. Speaker, with this brief eulogy it is my privilege to extend in the Record a splendid heartfelt tribute to Senator LA FOLLETTE, offered by one of the many organizations that ever found in him a friend and champion.

MOST DISTINGUISHED ALUMNUS, SAYS UNIVERSITY OF  
WISCONSIN FACULTY OF "BOB"

The faculty of the University of Wisconsin voted the following resolution in honor of Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE:

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"In the death of Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE the University of Wisconsin has lost her most distinguished alumnus, whose untiring devotion to the welfare of the people of the State and Nation and whose intense industry in the investigation of public questions and the improvement of the public service will be looked upon as the highest realization of what this university has, from its beginning, held before its students. His fearlessness in carrying forward the conclusions of his investigations, his sacrifices in taking up the cause of those whose voices had been unheard, will always remain a tribute to his name, and will mark his life as a great epoch in the history of this State.

"The faculty of the University of Wisconsin express their sincere admiration for his heroic life, for his mighty contributions to a nobler public service, and to the cause of education. They are deeply sorrowful in this hour that he could not have been spared to inspire the State and Nation further toward the ideals which he so nobly made the aim of his life.

"To his wife and children, who are numbered among our alumni, we send our words of sympathy in their great loss, and we also express our sense of their high privilege in that they have shared his life and have inherited his illustrious example."

Also another expression of the universal sympathy felt for him by innumerable bodies of splendid men and women whose debt of gratitude to him can never be repaid. No greater memorial could come to any man than the love and affection of countless thousands whom he helped during a wonderfully active life. That is Senator LA FOLLETTE'S greatest monument.

### POSTAL EMPLOYEES LOVED LA FOLLETTE

Because of his intense interest in remedial legislation affecting the postal employees, Senator

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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LA FOLLETTE was held in high esteem by them. He led the fight in the Sixty-second Congress for the repeal of the obnoxious gag law.

The following editorial appearing in the July, 1925, issue of the Union Postal Clerk, official organ of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, written by Editor Thomas F. Flaherty, is expressive of the deep regard in which Senator LA FOLLETTE was held by the postal employees:

### "FIGHTING BOB" IS GONE

He rests. The world-weight of the years is past.

No stress of war or pain can tire him now.

The old-time calm of thoughtful poise, at last  
Is on his brow.

And that is good to know, but else this hour  
of death is swept in living deeds away.

There stands till doom, in death-defying power,  
His yesterday.

He was always "Fighting Bob" to us. Somehow we remember him most vividly as the relentless foe of the postal bureaucracy that sought to throttle the postal workers and strip from them their constitutional rights. A fight of that kind—one involving great and important principles—appealed to him. He could enter into it with a zest and zeal of the true crusader. In this manner he plunged into the legislative struggle to free the postal employees from the obnoxious gag laws that had submerged them for 10 long years.

Just how clearly Senator LA FOLLETTE saw the larger problems of the postal employees is indicated in his memorable Senate speech of August 13, 1912. He knew that their imperative need was a freedom from the deadly domination of a narrow-visioned bureaucracy. He therefore fought for two large fundamentals—the right to organize effectively, including affiliation with the Amer-

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can Federation of Labor, and the right to petition Congress directly, individually, and collectively.

These two fundamentals are embodied in the LA FOLLETTE "antigag" law of August 24, 1912, which has been called the postal Magna Charta—our Bill of Rights. As Senator LA FOLLETTE remarked after this wonderful legislative victory, in which he triumphed over Senate reactionaries and department-controlled organizations, "I want the postal employees to have the greatest possible degree of freedom because I have faith in their ability to exercise it wisely for the common good."

A delegation of four members of Chicago local—our pioneer unit—represented the N. F. P. O. C. at the funeral of Senator LA FOLLETTE at Madison, Wis. In this delegation were Sol Cohen, P. H. Seegaard, E. H. Gronseth, and C. G. H. Tofte.

The affectionate esteem in which the departed Senator was held by the clerks of Wisconsin is eloquently set forth in a resolution from Milwaukee that is printed in full in this issue.

His last words were typical of him. Abused and reviled as few men in public life, he was filled with love for mankind on the brink of his grave.

We loved you, but we went our ways,  
Undreaming in our rash content  
That you were dropping numbered days  
Along the road we went.

We loved you, but we never guessed  
Your ardors and your shining powers  
Were aiming for a further quest  
Than any quest of ours.

Good night, dear comrade! As we part,  
Not idle praise nor tears we bring!  
But see! Our hearts stand round your heart  
Like warriors round a king.

A news article in the same issue of the Union Postal Clerk tells in some detail of Senator LA FOLLETTE's memorable fight for the repeal of the

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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gag rule which denied Government employees the right to petition Congress.

**POSTAL EMPLOYEES LOSE VALIANT CHAMPION IN SENATOR LA FOLLETTE—"FIGHTING BOB" WAS IMPLACABLE FOE OF POSTAL BUREAUCRATS—LED IN MEMORABLE STRUGGLE FOR ANTIGAG LAW**

The death of Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE removes from the Senate a dependable, tried friend of the postal workers—one who never failed us when great principles were at stake. Senator LA FOLLETTE was never a member of the Post Office Committee and he never—more's the pity—specialized in postal employment problems. But he saw with his customary clearness of vision the larger principles involved in our struggles. He saw the need, particularly for freeing the postal employees from the tyrannical domination of an entrenched bureaucracy that was seeking to stifle their aspirations.

Into the memorable fight for the nullification of the gag orders of 1902 and 1910, Senator LA FOLLETTE threw himself with all his vigor and force. He swept the opposition before him. His victory was all the greater because there were alleged representatives of postal employees who preferred departmental domination, with its rewards for its favorites, rather than the freedom for which the Wisconsin Senator was fighting.

Senator LA FOLLETTE's dramatic expose of the activities of Joseph Stewart, the Second Assistant Postmaster General, took place in the Senate on August 13, 1912. We print a portion of his speech which struck terror to the hearts of the bureaucrats:

"Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I dislike to break in upon the argument of the Senator from Iowa; but, since it is directly in point, I want to call the attention of the Senator from New York to an order issued by the department, signed by Joseph Stewart, Second Assistant Postmaster General, and addressed to railway postal clerks, which in plain terms prohibits an employee in

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that service from joining any secret lodge, union, or organization within their own ranks. I read the language:

"Referring to the reports that postal clerks at various points are forming lodges of secret organizations of railway postal clerks, I desire that steps be taken at once to acquaint all in the service that such action is regarded as inimical to the interest of the Government."

"Here is a prohibition direct from the department addressed to the clerks in the Railway Mail Service against their becoming members of lodges organized within the service. It will thus be seen that the railway mail clerks are not free to form organizations even within their own ranks."

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"As I suggested yesterday, this proposed legislation [the antigag law] is the direct result of the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the Post Office Department in denying the men the right to associate themselves with organizations independent of those which the department sanctions.

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"I read to the Senate yesterday a letter from a Post Office Department official seeking to control the elections in one of these organizations, and it is for that reason, Mr. President, and because they have been controlled, and because the officials have been used to suppress the appeals of the members of the organization to redress grievances—it is for that reason that these other organizations of postal employees have been formed."

A typical expression from postal employees is the following resolution adopted by Milwaukee Local of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

A resolution expressing eulogy and reverence for the late United States Senator ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, also condolence to his widow and family

Whereas on the 18th day of June, 1925, in Washington, D. C., Hon. ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, senior United States Senator from Wisconsin, has parted with his earthly

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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life, his lofty, militant, inspiring, and radiating spirit having been carried away to eternity by the Angel of Death; and

Whereas by that inevitable act of Destiny the United States, and particularly the State of Wisconsin, bears the distressful loss of a great son, a true citizen, and a matchless statesman; and  
Whereas the great legions of American labor, and especially the postal employees, for whose constitutional rights of petition and organization he fought so valiantly and successfully in the year 1912, thereby endearing himself permanently to their ever-grateful hearts, the said legions of American labor have, through his demise, lost a dependable friend, a salutary counselor, and a fearless champion; and

Whereas throughout the many years of his public service and sacrifice in the State of Wisconsin as a district attorney and as governor, and in the United States Congress as a Representative and a Senator, he immutably adhered to, advocated, and fought for those fundamental and priceless American principles which made the United States the foremost Nation among the countries of the world, and the State of Wisconsin the leading State of the Union, namely, liberty and equity: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Milwaukee Post Office Clerks' Union, Local No. 3, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, in regular meeting assembled, on the 21st day of June, 1925, at Alhambra Hall, solemnly declares profound reverence for the sacred memory of the late Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE; and be it further

*Resolved*, That this union expresses deep and sincere condolence to his widow and family in their depressive bereavement, which is also lamentably shared by the Nation, and especially by the people of Wisconsin; and be it further

*Resolved*, That this union delegates a member to attend the last rites and the funeral of the late Senator on Monday, June 22, 1925, at Madison, Wis., and to lay a wreath from the union on his grave; and be it further

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*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution all members present arise and stand with bowed heads in reverential silence for 70 seconds, one second for each year of his earthly life; and be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the family of our beloved deceased Senator, a copy spread on the minutes of this union, and a copy sent to the Union Postal Clerk for publication.

FRED C. LOENNIS, President.  
WILLIAM F. SY, Secretary.

Adopted by Local No. 3, N. F. P. O. C., Milwaukee, Wis., in regular meeting assembled, June 21, 1925.

Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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*Address by Representative Cooper  
Of Wisconsin*

Mr. SPEAKER: After the many beautiful tributes to the memory of the late Senator LA FOLLETTE, to which we have attentively listened, I feel, on rising to speak as these memorial services are about to close, that there is but little I can add to what has been so appropriately said in honor of the illustrious dead. The simple, unadorned story of his life is his highest, most fitting eulogy. The log cabin where his infancy was cradled; the abject poverty of his fatherless boyhood; the heroic struggles of his youth; his course, with its exceptional honors, as a student at the university; his brilliant record as a lawyer; his repeated election as Representative in Congress, as Governor of Wisconsin, and as Senator of the United States from that great State—this is familiar to all.

Step by step he was called up from poverty and obscurity to the position which, next to the Presidency, is the highest within the grasp of human ambition. Every step of this advance was won by merit alone. His were none of the adventitious aids by which lesser men are sometimes enabled to build up an ephemeral notoriety. His great qualities—as the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Voigt] has intimated—did not have to ask, they could not avoid, recognition. His active, penetrating mind, his indomitable courage and unpurchasable integrity, his ceaseless industry and overflowing love of humanity, brought him inevitably into

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public life, and caused the people of Wisconsin for nearly 40 years, until the day of his passing, to retain him in the service of the State and the Nation. And neither State nor Nation has ever known one who loved her more devotedly or strove more faithfully to serve what he thought her highest interests.

The life of the United States of America marks the most important political epoch that history records; and therefore LA FOLLETTE believed that the responsibilities of citizenship in this Republic were greater than those in any other nation. And he knew what we never should forget, that nations, like individuals, have their times of youth, of maturity, and as the history of the past tells us, of decay and death, but that there is this difference: In individuals nature plants the seeds of inevitable dissolution, while in nations they are planted by the folly and the wickedness of rulers and people. But in a government like ours there are no rulers; those whom we choose to make and to execute the laws are but servants of the people; and if decay and death shall ever come to this Republic, they will come through the folly and the weakness of the people alone.

He believed that our Government was the best in the world; but that, like everything else of human origin, it is not perfect and should not be made the object of blind adoration, because there were mingled with its undoubted blessings what appeared to him serious wrongs and injustices. He heard men loudly shout approval of Jefferson's "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none,"

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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and then saw them acquire—sometimes corruptly acquire—grossly unjust special privileges.

He envied no man his wealth, if it were the fruit of honest effort. On the contrary, he admired those who by foresight, industry, integrity, and skill achieve fortunes; and he numbered among his friends not a few owners of fortunes thus honorably secured. But he was nevertheless profoundly convinced that there is grave danger to the Republic if possessors of special privileges are permitted to make vast accumulations of wealth and power through ruthless disregard of the rights of others—rights which are the gift of God himself. Therefore, knowing that avarice has no conscience, he held it to be the true function—the duty—of a free government to be the guardian of industrial equality of opportunity; and that it is wrong not only for the State itself to interfere with such opportunity but wrong also for the State to permit such interference by corporations which are its creatures, or by individuals.

LA FOLLETTE believed, with Burke, that “To make us love our country our country ought to be lovely,” and he labored unceasingly to make it lovely, not for some, but for all of the people.

He saw our territory being rapidly occupied and conditions beginning to crowd as they have for generations been crowding in the Old World; and knowing that similar causes are apt to produce similar effects, he did what he could to prevent the development in this country of abuses long prevalent across the sea. And he sought not only to prevent these from coming, but also, by proper

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laws, to eradicate others already here. He boldly attacked an economic or a social injustice in this country, though long established and powerfully intrenched, believing, as in his very soul he did believe, that neither usage, nor custom, nor anything else however ancient, can justify a moral wrong.

He knew well the deep meaning of the truth that "Not the man alone who *feels* tyranny but also the man who is *exposed* to tyranny is without freedom," and he demanded that laws and law-makers be put to the rigorous test of fundamental principles.

There never lived a man who more devoutly believed that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," or more clearly perceived that in these days of intense competition the great majority of mankind are so busy striving to earn a livelihood for themselves and their dependents that they have no opportunity to study underlying principles of government. Accordingly he considered it his public duty to help to the utmost of his power, so to arouse the people to the vital importance of principle that they might never, through ignorance or indifference, permit liberty to be smothered in material prosperity.

And so for 40 tireless years, from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf, in the spirit of the Master who long ago proclaimed that God is Love, he eloquently directed attention to these dangers and injustices, and everywhere implored his countrymen to be thoughtful and merciful and just.

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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LA FOLLETTE combined this idealism with capacity in practical affairs. Some of the many beneficent laws for which he was either wholly or in large measure responsible have been enumerated by preceding speakers, and I shall not now pause to mention others which could truthfully be added to the list.

But there was another and entirely different side. We know that he was a great constructive statesman; we know his fighting qualities; we know that he was called "Battling Bob"; we know his power; but I think of a more tender side, of which the world at large knew little. And it is of this that I would say a word. One of the speakers alluded briefly to Senator LA FOLLETTE's love of literature. It is true that from his early youth he was a lover of the beautiful in literature and in art of every form. All his life he was a profound student of Shakespeare, as is in part evidenced by his lecture on Hamlet, to which the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Kvale] referred, and by his youthful oration on Iago, which won for him the prize in an oratorical contest participated in by the representatives of the universities of four States, and brought him letters of extraordinary praise from Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, and John McCullough, world-famous giants of Shakespearean interpretation.

It is sometimes said that literature and art are harmful, in that they tend to make indifferent to affairs of public moment the individuals and the nations by whom they are cultivated. But the life of LA FOLLETTE teaches us, as does the history of

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the world from the day when Æschylus fought at Marathon, to the hour when Theodore Koerner fell dead in battle for his fatherland, to the later hour when Theodore Winthrop poured out his life blood for the Union, and to the still later hour when Alan Seeger kept his "rendezvous with Death" where "poppies bloom in Flanders fields," that the truest appreciation of art, the deepest love of the beautiful may inhabit the soul at the same time with the loftiest, purest, most devoted patriotism.

But nothing in all his life, not all the brilliance of his achievements, had so endeared LA FOLLETTE to the people, had drawn him so near to their great heart of hearts, as did the fortitude, the patience, the resignation, with which he bore the days of painful struggle with death. As he felt himself drawing near the Dark River, he calmly said to the anxious watchers:

I do not know how the people will feel toward me, but I shall carry to the grave my love for them.

How true it is that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin." From every part of the Union came messages of sympathy. From the altars of every sect and creed, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, ascended prayers for his recovery. But all in vain. That noble heart is forever stilled; that eloquent tongue forevermore silent. While millions gazed upon the bow of promise which spanned the political heavens and with the eye of hope saw its still greater glories in the future, it suddenly disappeared in darkness, vanished with the life which lent it its radiance.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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To none other in all her history has Wisconsin accorded such a funeral. Never has she beheld another such scene as that of the multitudes in endless procession during the day and the night and the hours of the morning, passing through the State capitol, where, surrounded by the marble and bronze of the magnificent rotunda, lay her son, the child of the humble log cabin, in the sleep that knows no waking, midst the masses of tear-moistened flowers. Never has the State he so fondly loved and so faithfully served beheld another scene like that when they brought LA FOLLETTE home to rest in her bosom.

And now, farewell to our Senator! Farewell, great friend of humanity—brave, loyal heart! What we say here will soon be forgotten, but what thou hast been and what thou hast done—thy greatness and thy goodness—shall remain thy country's priceless legacy forever!

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin reassumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

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*Address by Representative O'Connor  
Of Louisiana*

Mr. Speaker: ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE is no more. He is dead. His body rests in the earth from whence it came. His soul is in a finer sphere of action carrying out God's great design. He lived to bless mankind. Myriads of men and women in this generation and those that are to follow will pilgrimage to his grave in reverence and mutter, "He did not live in vain." They will stand with uncovered heads and unsandaled feet, for they will know that they stand on holy ground. History will record his name enduringly in her temple of fame. "To do noble things, not dream them all day long, and so make life, death, and that vast forever one grand sweet song," was a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to him. He preached the word to make the mission of his country a holy one.

Let all the ends thou aimst at be  
Thy country's, thy God's, and truth's.  
Be noble and the nobleness that  
Lies in other men, sleeping but  
Never dead, will rise in majesty  
To meet thine own—

was the underlying thought to the many thrilling messages he delivered to his countrymen. He knew no greatness but his country's good. No nobler soul ever dwelled upon this earth than that of the dead statesman. No choicer spirit ever

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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swept over a land than that of the dead jurist. He was a great actor in the grand and romantic drama of life. "He loved his country because it was his own and scorned to give aught other reason why" than to labor in behalf of his countrymen.

The moral grandeur of his great nature sanctified his patriotism and to his luminous, large, and comprehending eyes the ideals, aspirations, hopes, and purposes of the patriotic men and women of his country were not only just but sublime. They were from his viewpoint of an eternal life and of a limitless and boundless universe in which innumerable experiences await man, the preliminary to the Creator's purpose which LA FOLLETTE reverently and solemnly looked to the fulfillment with the undying hope of the prophet. The millenium, when the lion and the lamb shall lie down and there shall be peace on earth to men of good will was the lighthouse on which his steadfast gaze was unfalteringly fixed over the many seas that lie ahead. On a slab in a cemetery in the city of New Orleans are lines that are unforgettable. They are in memoriam of one who has crossed that bourne from whence no traveler has ever returned. He was a soldier and died in a cause that his people held a sacred one. The lines are indelibly written in my memory. I read them when a boy and the stately, reverent, patriotic, eloquent, and inspiring words have ever remained with me. They might be written with a few alterations which I will make on the many monuments that will arise to attest the greatness of

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mind and grandeur of soul of ROBERT M. LA  
FOLLETTE—

A man tried in many high offices;  
And critical enterprises;  
And found faithful in all:  
His life was one long sacrifice of interest to conscience  
and unwavering duty of devotion to country:  
His greatness stands confessed to-day in a people's  
tears;  
Resolute, moderate, clear of envy, yet not wanting in  
that finer ambition which makes men great and pure;  
In his honor—impregnable;  
In his simplicity—sublime;  
No country e'er had a truer son—no cause a nobler  
champion;  
No people a bolder defender—no principle a purer  
advocate, than  
The dead statesman who sleeps his last sleep in the soil  
of his well-beloved Commonwealth of Wisconsin;  
His fame, consigned to the keeping of that time which,  
happily, is  
Not so much the tomb of virtue as its shrine;  
Shall, in the years to come, fire modest worth to noble  
ends.  
In honor, now the great statesman rests;  
A bereaved people mourn him;  
A proud Commonwealth and a noble Nation claim him;  
And history shall cherish him,  
Among those choicer spirits who, holding their con-  
science unmixed with blame,  
Have been, in all conjuncture, true to themselves, their  
people, and their God.

LA FOLLETTE sang the hymn of the conquered  
who fell in the battle of life. His tears were for  
the wounded and beaten who died overwhelmed in  
the strife. The jubilant song of the victor was  
not music to his ear. The resounding acclaim of

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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nations lifted in chorus for an oppressor of mankind thrilled not that great heart. The chaplet of fame on the brow of the unworthy was to him as withered leaves. His voice was ever heard in bugle blast and clarion tone for the low and humble, the weary, the broken in heart. His sobs were for those who strove and who failed acting bravely a silent and desperate part in the tragedy of human existence. His pitying gaze was ever bent on those whose youth bore no flower in its branches. Instinctively his sympathetic mind leapt to the consolation of those sufferers whose hopes burned in ashes away; and his great heart shook with grief at the woe of those who stood at the dying of the day, at the end of the long and lonely trail with the work of their life all around them unheeded, alone, with death sweeping down on their failures and all but their faith in God's infinite mercy and wisdom overthrown. He never joined in the tumultuous shout of the world for those who had won the worldly victory. While the trumpet was sounding triumphant and high to the breeze and the sun, gay banners were waving, hands clapping, and hurrying feet thronging after the laurel-crowned victor, ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE stood on the field of defeat with those who were wounded and dying. Chanting a requiem low, he placed his hand on the pain-knotted brows, held the heads that were helpless, and whispered—

They never fail who die in a great cause.  
The block may soak their gore, their heads may sodden in  
the sun,

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Their limbs be stretched to city gates and castle walls,  
But still their spirits walk abroad.  
Years may elapse and others share as dark a doom.  
They but augment the deep and swelling thought  
That overwhelms all others  
And leads the world at last to perfect freedom.

Through time and over space in soul inspiring language his magic tones will carry hope to the children of all men. He has urged them to teach the generations to come to fight for truth which will blaze the way for a larger and finer liberty and freedom. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," was to him what Carthago Delenda est was to Cato. But his was a battle cry for humanity and that of the Roman a slogan for blood and tears. His wonderful words will yet reach every heart throughout our broad land, that they only the victory win who have fought the good fight and vanquished the demons that tempt us within. His prayer for those who have held to their faith unseduced by the prize which the world holds on high will yet be on many tongues, and the lips of children will sing them as a sweet song of an everlasting hope. In the fullness of time history will write in enduring letters, large and luminous, so that they might be beheld from afar, the name of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE. We weep. He is no more.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Morrow  
Of New Mexico**

Mr. SPEAKER: ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, the late Senator from the State of Wisconsin, was reared in the same county of Wisconsin where it was my good fortune to have first seen the light of day. It was my privilege as a boy to witness and to know of his early political career. Also to become familiar with his early struggles for success in that career, and to familiarize myself with the history of his efforts to better his condition.

It goes without saying that Mr. LA FOLLETTE in early life endured much hardship and by his indomitable personal character paved his way in life, which eventually made him a successful lawyer and statesman. I would be derelict in my duty as a Member of Congress if I failed to express myself in regard to this great American.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE's early political training in his native State, which was teeming with dishonest political conditions, brought him boldly forward as an advocate for honesty in public affairs, first in his native State of Wisconsin and later in the affairs of the National Government. In my opinion, the name of LA FOLLETTE should be placed foremost among those who unselfishly sought for honesty in official life.

While many seem to regard the life of ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE in national affairs and his outstanding position for public honesty as his principal characteristic, yet he had another characteristic, which

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was a fair deal for his fellow men in all matters of national legislation.

The real character of this man, in the opinion of the speaker, is clearly shown in the indelible and lasting principles he inculcated in the citizenship of his own State of Wisconsin, as well as in the affairs of the National Government.

In order that the reader may get a clearer picture of the wonderful power which the political doctrine LA FOLLETTE brought to the affairs of his home State, all that is necessary is to realize the powerful influence that his principles of government had on the people of the great State of Wisconsin and the influence that those principles have exercised in that State for nearly two decades. It is true, also, that his ideals of government brought by him to the National Congress a form of government that our Nation is entitled to as intelligent and enlightened Americans, and no American schooled in the principles of government can say that his ideals were wrong.

Wisconsin with its severe climatic conditions (much more severe than many other States in the Nation) virtually outranks every State in the industry, frugality, and prosperity of its people. This is to some degree due to the character of its citizenship. Also to the State legislation sponsored by Mr. LA FOLLETTE and the wholesome doctrine that he planted in the laws and his teachings which have by years become the creed of the majority of the citizenship of that State. That creed is honesty in State affairs, a slogan of LA FOLLETTE that first had its origin with him in

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## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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his earliest political life and became later a national slogan with him.

As a citizen he was honest, faithful, and true to his people. As a statesman he was thorough, reliable, and upright in all public affairs. High moral principles were the torch that always lighted his public and private life.

The personal life of this American statesman is a fitting guide for every American student to follow. LA FOLLETTE was an honest believer that a civilization in order to exist with honest, fair, and just laws must have the enforcement of same; that society under a free government should receive the proper protection that the law entitled it to receive.

In speaking of the requisites of the lawyer and statesman, Mr. LA FOLLETTE possessed the real attributes—diligence and accuracy. No statesman of modern times was more accurate or possessed greater diligence in the task undertaken than the man I am attempting to portray to those who might chance to read my remarks.

In speaking of character, the words of Woodrow Wilson apply most appropriately to the late lamented LA FOLLETTE:

There is something that the American people love better than they love peace. They love the principles upon which their political life is founded. They are ready at any time to fight for the vindication of their character or their honor. They will at no time seek a contest, but they will at no time craven to avoid it. Because if there is one thing that every nation ought to fight for it is the integrity of its own convictions. We can not surrender our convictions. I would rather sur-

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render territory than surrender ideals, which are the chief staff of life for the soul itself.

This was certainly true of Mr. LA FOLLETTE, and after every battle the public were compelled to admire the greatness of the man and the purity of his character.

There is no question but that his studious habits and enormous power for work affected his physical constitution and that this great American statesman and defender of the people cut short his life in the struggle. In order that all should share equally in the benefits of government; that the resources of the Nation were intended to be equitably and justly dealt with for all the people of this great Republic and should not by legislation be given to a special privileged class. It is not necessary to enumerate the laws that he was the author of, as others have cited them. It is needless to say it will be many years before the place he occupied in public and private life can be filled.

Who can take the place of "Fighting BOB LA FOLLETTE," the man of tireless energy, a man of the highest moral character, a man whose influence may be compared to a tiny rivulet of clear water which starts from its mountain home toward the valley, gathering water from many small streams on its way until it becomes a mighty river sweeping on to the vast ocean. This was exemplified in the political life of LA FOLLETTE, starting in the office of district attorney of Dane County, Wis., until it covered the whole State, then to the Nation, leaving to the American citizens a heritage which will grow in esteem in national life as the years go by.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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**Address by Representative Keller**  
*Of Minnesota*

Mr. SPEAKER: A truly great statesman is being eulogized here to-day—eulogized by those who have worked side by side with him in his life's battles and by those who have become thoroughly acquainted with his work through direct contact with him in the Nation's Capital. As one of the latter, I want to add my humble praise to the many encomiums that are being heaped high upon ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE in this, the afterglow of his activity in our midst.

Senator LA FOLLETTE came nearer being the absolute incarnation of vitality, of tenacity of purpose, of stick-to-itiveness, of fearlessness, of sincerity of purpose than has ever been molded into the body and soul of one human being. His life record is one of devotion to duty, as God gave it to him to see that duty; of service to the common people—those people for whom he had such great love and respect. The source of his love and admiration for the masses must have been the same as that which prompted that greatest of Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, to utter those words of undying beauty and reverence, "God must have loved the common people, for he made so many of them." The inspiration to do justice to the masses in public life and to succeed in that purpose is the grandest goal that one can cherish in a life's work. How well BOB LA FOLLETTE succeeded in this respect is a matter of history.

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Having been born and reared during my early youth in Wisconsin, I naturally took an interest from the first in the progress and development of the political work of ROBERT LA FOLLETTE. Later on, as I entered the political field myself, I came to admire the great fight this staunch, determined leader was making in my natal State. The principles he expounded in behalf of the masses were an inspiration to all interested in rendering true service to the people in public life.

While the work of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE in his State's legislature and as governor of the great State of Wisconsin, where he served so effectively in bringing his State to the enviable position it maintains in the concord of States, it is his service in the National Congress, first in the House and later in the Senate, that has made him one of the outstanding legislators and statesmen of history. Always definitely aligned on the great issues of the day, his voice and his very being were thrown into the fight, determined always to protect to the fullest extent the interest of the common people in all legislation that came before the Congress. Many a memorable fight has he led for the cause of humanity. Often has his head of flowing hair waved majestically, and his clarion voice rung out in the Halls of Congress as he expounded the mass viewpoint. A fighter such as the Senate has rarely seen, when in action—yet as gentle, as gracious, as friendly, as lovable a character as one would ever desire to address as a friend and associate—the memory of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE will long linger in the minds of those who knew him so well.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

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It takes the brain of a genius, the strength of a Goliath, the unflinching courage and endurance of a Spartan, all combined, to match the tireless activity and success that has characterized the work of this great statesman. His record in the Congress speaks for itself. The constructive legislation enacted under his guidance by the Congress of the United States will stand as a monument to his memory as long as this Nation endures. Probably his greatest work for humanity was embodied in the seaman's act which bears his name. There are other acts which will long endure in the minds of those who have benefited thereby. Much of his activity as a legislator was concerned with opposition to legislation vicious in its scope and purpose and designed for the benefit of the powerful interests and the favored few. Whenever such legislation dared to rear its head in the Congress, in the foreground of the opponents thereto could be seen the striking figure of that world-renowned crusader for right and justice—ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE. And the archives of Congress hold many a record of battles, the ferocity and intensity of which will long linger in the minds of our people, in which the sterling leadership of this great statesman predominates. His leadership in the development of that new political thought—the progressive element in our body politic—will serve as an inspiration in years to come to those who carry on this great work. It has a well-defined place in our political scheme; it has been advanced under Senator LA FOLLETTE until it is to-day the outstanding subject of conversation wherever

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politics is discussed. Its organization has become so powerful that it is found in control of that great legislative body, the United States Senate, in the forthcoming Congress. And its power for good—for the improvement of conditions for the common people—will be appreciated more fully as time goes on.

It ill behooves us to endeavor to erect a monument of words in outlining the achievements of ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE. The Senator has all too well accomplished this purpose in his life's work. As time goes on his deeds of greatness will shine the brighter; the inspiration derived from his successful labors here will reach into the hearts and the homes of the common people wherever they may be, and the devotion to that great duty that devolves upon us left to mourn his loss to carry on in the paths he has so clearly outlined will be the easier of accomplishment.

“Well done, thou good and faithful servant,” can well be inscribed upon his tomb.

Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves that the House do now adjourn. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, February 21, 1927, at 12 o'clock noon.





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